THE CRISIS.

A

COLLECTION

OF

ESSAYS

WRITTEN

In the Years 1792 *and* 1793,

UPON

TOLERATION, PUBLIC CREDIT,

THE

ELECTIVE FRANCHISE IN IRELAND,

THE

EMANCIPATION OF THE IRISH CATHOLICS,

WITH OTHER

INTERESTING AND MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS.

Rara temporum felicitas! ubi sentire quæ velis, & quæ sentias dicere licet.

TACITUS.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR HOOKHAM AND CARPENTER, NEW AND OLD BOND STREET.

1794.

PREFACE.

THE following Eſſays were written on a variety of ſubjects, in the years 1792 and 1793.

Some of them upon very important queſtions; upon the emancipation of the Iriſh Catholics, and upon the ſhock that commercial credit received at that period.

It is a teſtimony to truth, and the acknowledgment of a candid and liberal mind, that, upon the latter ſubject, the writer was miſtaken in ſome reſpects; though, perhaps, it were to be wiſhed that the Legiſlature had taken ſome precautions againſt the unbounded extenſion of paper circulation, that credit might not hereafter tranſcend ſecurity, ſimilar to regulations on that ſubject which have actually obtained in Ireland.

The writer has, ſince that time, been informed, by one of the ableſt men and moſt reſpectable characters in this country, that the whole of the enormous ſum of five millions, that was advanced in Exchequer bills, has been repaid; and that that wiſe and timely meaſure has anſwered every purpoſe that could be expected.

Touching the other Eſſays, it may be *truly* ſaid, that they anſwered the writer's warmeſt expectations; particularly thoſe on Toleration and the affairs of Ireland.

Nor is it, he flatters himſelf, a vain preſumption, that they were eminently auxiliary in that important queſtion; ſince the public in this country always draw juſt and fair concluſions from admitted facts.

The writer claims this diſtinction, as he never miſtated, garbled, or warped any facts that could be of public ſervice, and ever preſerved that which muſt eminently qualify any men to be of public ſervice, namely, the ſincereſt regard and attachment to truth.

Theſe Eſſays were written, at leaſt the greater part of them, as Letters in the PUBLIC ADVERTISER; the faithful and invaluable repoſitory of the golden Letters of Junius; while

while a few only were modelled upon the plan of Mr. Addiſon's Freeholder; though it has been thought expedient to prefix the general title of THE CRISIS to thoſe Eſſays which appeared under various ſignatures.

The author deſigns, at a leiſure moment, to republiſh a collection of Letters which appeared under the ſignature of THEMISTOCLES in the PUBLIC ADVERTISER, and which were copied into ſeveral other Papers, and were much approved of in 1788-9, at the memorable CRISIS of the REGENCY.

The writer has none of thoſe idle and ridiculous Ariſtocratic prejudices, to prevent his being of public utility in any way, nor in any ſituation; if his ſpeculations ſhould have been of uſe to his country, at thoſe critical periods, he is amply repaid by the reflection that they were dictated by a genuine regard for public welfare, by the pureſt motives of genuine patriotiſm.

Of the Letters under the ſignature of Themiſtocles, thoſe only will be publiſhed with the Author's name that related to the great queſtions of the Regency; of the Mayor of Dublin, and the corporate rights of that city in 1790; and of the Spaniſh Convention.

The

The Author always deſigned to acknowledge thoſe Eſſays, if ever they ſhould be queſtioned, or ſhould be conſidered, in any ſhape, as offenſive to individuals; but ſuch of them as alluded to ſome temporary appointments, and to deſignations which no longer exiſt, will be omitted; as they contain remarks which nothing but a regard to public welfare could juſtify at the time, and their re-publication might be unpleaſing to ſome amiable and reſpectable characters.

The indulgent reader will excuſe and take the obliging trouble of correcting the typographical errors inſerted underneath; as the collection was printed during the Author's abſence on the Continent laſt autumn *.

This circumſtance will alſo account for the inſertion of ſome Eſſays upon temporary ſubjects of inferior import; ſuch as thoſe upon faſhionable clubs, the French theatres, and

---

* Page 23, line 2, for *the treatment*, read *this treatment*.
93, —— 1, for *acres*, read *areas*.
145, —— 8, for *outleap*, read *overleap*.
146, —— 14, for *the countics*, read *two counties*.
214, —— 14, for *copies*, read *coupons*.
217, —— 5, for *conpons*, read *coupons*.
221, —— 26, for *drop mortuaire*, read *drap mortuaire*.

and upon the paſſage from Milford to Waterford.

Touching this laſt ſubject: the Author has written many Eſſays in the courſe of the laſt ten years, under the ſignature of an *old Member of Parliament*, and other titles: upon that and the improvement of the roads in South Wales, which have been marked with a very flattering approbation from a moſt reſpectable aſſociation.

Many of thoſe improvements have ſince been carried into complete effect; particularly the erection of a wooden bridge over the Suir at Waterford, by an American architect; which, for the boldneſs of deſign, and the cheapneſs of execution, may vie with the moſt diſtinguiſhed public works of the preſent period.

So that the Author has hopes that the whole plan will be ſoon accompliſhed, by forming moſt commodious roads for mail-coaches from this capital, through Milford and Waterford, to Limerick and Cork.

As ſome of theſe Eſſays were written in the form of Letters to the Printer of the Public Advertiſer, the reader will have the indulgence to excuſe this circumſtance, and that the ſame form was not preſerved by the compiler

piler during the Author's abſence; and to ſupply a defect not eſſential in itſelf, more particularly in a compilation where public utility has been more conſulted, than ceremony or ornament.

CON-

CONTENTS.

No.		Page.
1.	UPON the Situation of the Iriſh Catholics	7
2.	Obſervations upon the Syſtem of Government in Ireland - - -	13
3.	Upon the Elective Franchiſe in Ireland -	21
4.	Upon faſhionable Clubs - -	29
5.	Upon executive Juſtice - -	34
6.	The Subject continued - -	38
7.	Ibid. - - - -	42
8.	Upon the French Revolution -	45
9.	The Subject continued - -	50
10.	Upon the Syſtem of Government in Ireland, and the Situation of the Iriſh Catholics	55
11.	The Subject continued - -	61
12.	Ibid. - - -	67
13.	Upon the probable Conſequences of the Combination againſt France -	75
14.	Upon the Retreat of the Duke of Brunſwick	80
15.	Upon the Writings of Paine, and Parliamentary Reform - - -	87
16.	The Subject continued - -	94
17.	Ibid. - - - -	98
18.	Upon the Iriſh Catholics - -	103
19.	Obſervations on the Milford Pacquets -	108

CONTENTS.

No.		Page.
20.	The Subject of the Iriſh Catholics reſumed	112
21.	Ibid. - - -	118
22.	Upon the preſent War, and the State of our Navy	124
23.	Upon the Iriſh Catholics; abridgment of the Treaty of Limerick - -	129
24.	Upon the State of our Navy -	131
25.	Upon Public Credit - -	139
26.	Upon Public Regiſters - -	144
27.	Upon the preſent Land War, and the Preference of the Naval to the Land Service -	148
28.	The Subject continued - -	153
29.	Ibid. - - -	158
30.	Upon the Regulation of Intereſt -	163
31.	Upon the preſent Combination againſt France	168
32.	Upon the preſent War - -	173
33.	Upon the French Revolution -	179
34.	Upon the French Theatres - -	186
35.	The Subject continued - -	192
36.	Ibid. - - -	199
37.	Ibid. - - -	209
38.	Ibid. - - -	212
39.	Ibid. - - -	216
40.	Ibid. - - -	219
41.	Upon the mathematical Conſtruction of Carriages - - -	223

THE

THE CRISIS.

No. 1. WEDNESDAY, *Jan.* 11, 1792.

Magna eſt Veritas, et Filia temporis, et prevalebit.

THE principal ſtatutes, which are called in Ireland the Popery Laws, were enacted in 1703 and 1709.*

Of the firſt, Biſhop Burnet remarks, that the Duke of Ormond, the then Lord Lieutenant, and the Engliſh Government, having had ſtrong objections to its ſeverity, contrived to add a clauſe in the Engliſh Council, (which formerly claimed a right of altering Iriſh Bills, under Poyning's Law) by which all perſons were obliged to receive the ſacrament in three months after they were inveſted with an office. This

* Iriſh Statutes, the 2d of Anne, chap. 12; and the 8th of Anne, chap. 3.

they knew would affect Diſſenters, contrary to the wiſh of the Iriſh Parliament, who, upon that account, might reject the Bill upon its return to Ireland; but they were diſappointed in their hopes. This additional proviſion formed the Sacramental Teſt, which was repealed in Ireland in 1780, and was ſimilar to that which has lately made ſo much noiſe in this country.

Poſterity will hardly believe that ſuch a ſevere code of laws could have exiſted againſt the majority of the inhabitants of any country, no more than that the laws againſt witchcraft were not repealed in England till the 20th year of the late king.

Under theſe laws, Catholics could not purchaſe or take lands by will or deviſe, or in truſt, or be guardians, or hold leaſes for a longer term than thirty-one years—the ſhorteſt term uſual in Ireland. Their lands and properties gavelled, or were divided among their children. Landed ſecurity was interdicted; the poſſeſſion of horſes above a certain value; the uſe of arms, and military and learned profeſſions; religion was promoted at the expenſe of morality; a younger ſon, changing his religion, obtained the rights of primogeniture, and made his father tenant for life.

Under the preſſure of this ſevere ſyſtem of laws, the Iriſh Catholics appeared, to a philoſophic eye, like mice in an air pump, who were

ſuffered

ſuffered to exiſt, and barely to breathe, for the ſake of experiment.

The firſt breach in this formidable ſyſtem was by a law to enable Catholics to take mortgages, or landed ſecurity, for their money, in 1773: this was carried, after long and violent debates in the Lords, by a majority of three. The young Nobleman, who perſevered in carrying it through, though ſtrong in oppoſition, was ſecretly befriended by the aid of Government, who wiſhed well to it, though they did not chooſe to come oſtenſibly forward in the relaxation of the Popery Laws.

Some lights were thrown upon this ſubject, in the courſe of theſe debates, which induced a deſire of further relaxation; and in 1781, Mr. Gardiner, the preſent Lord Mountjoy, introduced a Bill which reflects the greateſt honour upon his character, which repealed the whole ſyſtem; but it recited and re-enacted certain former proviſions and diſabilities, under which the Catholics now remain, and which may be claſſed under the following heads:

1ſt. Intermarriages—which are forbidden under certain penalties; among the reſt, a Papiſt wife annuls the right of ſuffrage at elections.

2dly. Carrying arms without licence—this is ſeldom put in execution; but, according to the letter of the law, Catholics forfeit their arms, if carried without permiſſion from magiſtrates.

3dly.

3dly. Military Commiſſions.

4thly. Acting as Barriſters or Solicitors.

5thly. Public Offices.

6thly. Admiſſion to the Univerſity of Dublin.

7thly. Sitting in, and voting for Members of Parliament—The laſt four prohibitions depend upon the oaths of abjuration and ſupremacy, in taking which, they renounce the tenets of their religion; the reſtriction about offices do not extend to petty offices, or to petty juries: it is ſaid to be a maxim in the Iriſh courts of law, that Catholics may be jurors in all caſes, where the Popery laws are not concerned; but this rule, it is ſaid, does not extend to Grand Juries.

8thly, and laſtly. Public Worſhip.—Catholics, under the law of 1780, may have ſervice in churches without bells, but proceſſions, and all ſorts of public eſtabliſhments, or proviſions for their clergy, are forbidden.

Theſe are all their preſent legal diſabilities; upon the whole of which, the following obſervations may be fairly and candidly made:

Firſt, That the definition of an eſtabliſhed religion is, that the Government, whether it conſiſts of one perſon, or is veſted in three bodies of men, ſhould be excluſively of a certain profeſſion, and that others of a different perſuaſion ſhould not be admitted; conſequently, that the Catholics cannot be Members of Parliament;

ment; particularly in a country where the majority of the people are of that profeſſion; becauſe if the ſame proportion ſhould prevail in the Senate, which obtains in the community, their majority would give a predominance, and it would be in effect ſubſtituting their's for the eſtabliſhed religion; and becauſe alſo, this theory is juſtified by practice, ſince, where toleration is moſt predominant, in Holland and Pennſylvania, Catholics are not admitted to be members of the Legiſlature.

Secondly, That, the foregoing caſe excepted, the extenſion of common rights and privileges is deſirable in every commonwealth, to all its ſubjects, unleſs they ſhould hold evil opinions, or religious tenets, contrary to the general welfare: how far the Catholics do or do not hold ſuch principles in Ireland, muſt be waved; nor can that queſtion be diſcuſſed, without anticipating the arguments that will ariſe upon an inquiry which will ſhortly come under the conſideration of the wiſdom of the Iriſh Parliament.

Thirdly, Touching their relative numbers, it appears, from a return made by the Biſhops in each dioceſe, to the Houſe of Lords of Ireland, in 1735, lately reprinted as a pamphlet in Dublin, that, upon an average of the whole kingdom, the Catholics were to the Proteſtants as three to two, or three-fifths of the whole population of Ireland; a proportion which has probably

bly leſſened ſince that time, as converts have, it is well known, conſiderably increaſed ſince 1773, ſince the relaxation of the Popery laws.

Laſtly, That the Engliſh and the Iriſh Catholics are in a different predicament: the firſt are great in rank and in property, but ſmall in numbers; the laſt are comparatively numerous, but there are few men of rank among them, and their relative property is inconſiderable.

No. 2. SATURDAY, *March* 24, 1792.

For modes of faith let graceleſs zealots fight;
His can't be wrong, whoſe life is in the right.

POPE.

WHEN we admire the celebrated "*Eſſay* on the *Cauſes* of POPULAR DISCONTENTS," the production of one of the greateſt writers, and perhaps one of the wiſeſt miniſters this country ever ſaw, we muſt lament the ſmall effect which it produced in the laſt century.

With the ſame benevolent motive, though with a better hope of ſucceſs in this enlightened period, I ſhall trouble you with ſome obſervations upon the ſyſtem of government which has obtained in Ireland for the laſt ſix or ſeven years, and upon the *true origin* of the PRESENT DISCONTENTS in that country. A few bold truths will be found in theſe remarks; but on a ſimilar diſplay of matters of fact, I once had more good fortune than I expected, and in the publication of them you will add one to the many obligations which this country and the public owe to you.

It may paſs for a general maxim, that all wiſe Governments ſhould depend rather upon the major than the minor intereſt; in other words, upon thoſe who have the larger than the leſſer ſtake in the property of a community.

This

This principle, however, does not obtain in Ireland, under the preſent ſyſtem, ſince 1784. Thoſe who are favoured with public employments, are by no means equal in public conſideration, in intereſt, or in property in that kingdom, to many great intereſts who are in oppoſition; nor in many caſes is the private property of the ſervants of Government equal in any degree to what they poſſeſs from their offices; from hence it follows, that the ſupport of Government does not reſt upon the natural baſe of ſuperior landed property, but upon an artificial intereſt, created by itſelf.

It ſeems to have been a maxim, for ſome time paſt, to employ the Gentlemen of the Long Robe in the firſt offices of the State. Some have, no doubt, riſen from obſcurity to eminence by their talents; but of others, it may be truly ſaid, that their merits are as unknown as their origin; that they have riſen to eminence from mere adulation and intrigue, like the empty ſcale from its lightneſs and vacuity.

Nor have I a doubt that ſome of them have derived their conſequence from exigencies in the State which were created by themſelves, of which the meeting of the Iriſh Parliament, a fortnight before the great queſtion of the Regency was decided here, which generated the preſent formidable oppoſition, and the affair in 1790, of the Mayor of Dublin, are remarkable inſtances.

It

It was my wiſh to enlarge upon the waſte of public money, when thoſe uſeleſs jobs, ſuch as a palace for tide-waiters, more ſumptuous than a royal reſidence, by which great profits have accrued to individuals; but careful of extending theſe remarks too far, I ſhall confine them to two important objects.

In Ireland, it ſeems to be a general maxim, that if any man has an office, be it ever ſo conſiderable, that it is a reaſon for aſking, and often obtaining, a ſecond and a third; inſomuch, that there are ſome lawyers who have poſſeſſed ſix or ſeven thouſand pounds a year under Government; but the true cauſe of the number of Lay Pluraliſts, if they may be ſo called, in that country, requires ſome explanation.

That Government in all countries muſt be ſupported by a due diſpoſition of honours and of offices, is a great truth, which muſt be admitted; but there is a wide difference between that underſtanding which prevails between men of honour, that a fair and honourable ſervice will in time meet with its ſure recompenſe, and a downright bargain and ſale, or, in other words, a ſpecific recompenſe for a ſpecific ſervice—what the lawyers term, a *Quid* pro *Quo*. Unluckily, Government have given way to this laſt mode of beſtowing offices, by which demands have conſtantly increaſed, and men, for every petty ſervices,

vice, or from a common official ſpeech, have obtained multiplied employments, and the patronage of Government has been too narrow and inadequate in Ireland.

That the former method of recompenſe is not underſtood, in the preſent ſyſtem of adminiſtration, I have ſome reaſon to believe, from the following extraordinary matter of fact:

A gentleman, who was very high in political eſtimation ſome time ago, was much relied upon by Adminiſtration, and had rendered a ſeries of ſignal ſervices upon a moſt trying and critical emergency, but without having made any bargain or expreſs ſtipulation.

The public naturally expected that one who had been ſo very uſeful, and of ſuch importance, in a day of calamity, ſhould have been the firſt object of honourable acknowledgment and grateful recompenſe; but the method taken to evade the obligation is now well known, and is a very curious circumſtance.

Inſinuations were artfully diſperſed, that a man muſt be an eccentric mortal who could render a ſervice to Government without ſtipulation: that it was true policy to have ſuch ſervices for nothing, and that men of far leſs merit, having been highly favoured, had created a diſappointment and an alienation of mind, which had prevented ſuch an acknowledgment.

Various

Various arts, and the loweſt and meaneſt engines of iniquity, have been employed to favour this deluſion, and to dupe the public into this opinion; but the party concerned, being a man of an elevated mind, independent in his fortunes and reſources, ſaw this matter in a ludicrous light, and, aware from what a little whimſical capricious ſource the perſecution proceeded, he was ſenſible, that if cunning men knew the world, the world would ſoon know them; that this flimſy artifice would in time be tranſparent, and that a trick, founded upon depravity and ingratitude, would, in due time, be conſigned to the obloquy and contempt which it deſerved.

Beſides what I have mentioned, much, in all countries, will depend upon the perſonal decorum and propriety of conduct in thoſe who preſide in the government of a country: it is to be lamented that that politeneſs and urbanity, which may be well called *Et* DECUS *et* TUTAMEN, an ornament and a ſhield, prevails ſo little in the riſing generation, and is to be traced in former times, or in thoſe only who are paſſing off the ſtage. To dwell longer upon this ſubject would be improper. It might be a flattering incenſe at the altar of power, to ſay, that thoſe who have lately preſided in that country have given juſt ideas of dignified repreſentation; but it would be a notorious violation of truth.

So much for the ſyſtem which has obtained for ſeven years and more, with a ſhort interval ſince the year 1784. Permit me to add a concluſive word upon the important ſubject relative to the Roman Catholics, which engages ſo much of the public attention at the preſent period.

The proportion between the Catholics and Proteſtants in Ireland has been eſtimated as three to two, or as three-fifths of the whole population: hence it follows, that reſtrictions upon them are reſtraints upon the majority of the people.

It is true, that, upon this ſtatement, the admiſſion of the Catholics into Parliament would be a ſubſtitution of one religion for another. Their excluſion, I conceive to be a ſacred conſtitutional palladium, which cannot be too much watched, or carefully preſerved. Againſt this, the law has already provided ample reſtraints; nor is it neceſſary that the country ſhould be laid waſte, to guard theſe bulwarks ſtill more, and to prevent the invaſion of an enemy.

Nor is this a mere metaphor, the product of the imagination, but it is a fair deſcription, grounded upon a fact, that by their not being allowed the elective franchiſe, which they have ſo lately loſt, many Catholics have been ouſted from their farms, merely for the purpoſe of giving a preference to thoſe who might create a Parliamentary influence.

It is ſomewhat ſurprizing that, in a late publication of Mr. Burke's, it ſhould have eſcaped his penetration and induſtrious inquiry, that this franchiſe was ſo lately diſallowed: it was in the year 1715, that the firſt religious oaths were preſcribed to Catholic voters; and in the year 1727-8, that they were prohibited from voting under ſevere penalties. For the truth of this aſſertion, I appeal to the Iriſh Statute Book.*

A diverſity of religious opinions prevails not only in Holland, but in ſeveral other countries, and is accompanied with general harmony, and even reciprocal accommodation. Inſtead of being angry with each other for different modes of faith, a liberal mind ſhould be pleaſed with that ingenuity which has invented any ſpecies of adoration or worſhip of the Supreme Being—that adoration which all men owe, but which the wiſeſt and the beſt, it muſt be acknowledged, perform imperfectly.

In a word, it were to be wiſhed that the harmony and concord recommended by the Evangelical precepts were more attended to than the forms and ceremonies of this or that particular mode of worſhip, or the controverſies of polemical divinity.

* Iriſh Statutes, the 2d of Geo. I. c. 19, and 1ſt of Geo. II. c. 9.

The great truths of religion and morality, the eternal rules of right and wrong, are every where nearly the same—religious forms and ceremonies are every where different. The first are the ordinances of Heaven—the latter are the institutions of man.

No. 3.

No. 3. SATURDAY, *April* 7, 1792.

——————Vir bonus eſt quis?
Qui mores patrum, qui leges juraque ſervat.

HORACE.

HAVING, in my letter of the 24th of March, entered into a general view of the conduct of affairs in Ireland, ſince the year 1784, I ſhall ſay no more upon the ſyſtem which has prevailed ſince that period; the truths which were there advanced will be confirmed by examination, and time will perhaps operate a neceſſary change and reformation.

But, upon the great queſtion relative to the Elective Franchiſe, the grand and principal deſideratum of the Roman Catholics in Ireland, little has yet been ſaid; nor are the true and real grounds upon which the merits of that queſtion reſt, generally known, becauſe they have hitherto been little conſidered in this country.

From the earlieſt periods, from the commencement of the Iriſh Parliament in the ninth year of King Edward the Second, to the Revolution, a difference of religion was not an excluſive bar to a ſeat in either Houſe of Parliament; the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy were preſcribed to be adminiſtered to all the ſubjects of that realm, by the 2d of Elizabeth, it is true; but

the Catholics did not by them abjure the tenets of their religion, nor were they particularly ordered to be adminiſtered to Members of Parliament.

Before the Iriſh Parliament met after a long receſs of twenty-ſix years, in 1692, the Engliſh Legiſlature paſſed a law repealing the ſaid act of Elizabeth, preſcribing thoſe oaths in a new form, and ſubjoining an oath of abjuration, or diſavowal of the fundamental tenets of the Catholics, to be taken by Members, under the ſevereſt penalties, before they could ſit and vote, which law was confirmed in 1782, by an act of the Iriſh Legiſlature.

In the reign of Queen Anne, the Popery laws took place in 1703 and 1709, great part of which are now repealed; and it may be ſaid with ſufficient accuracy for a general aſſertion, that the Roman Catholics are now reſtrained only in two principal points, namely, from ſerving in the army, and in the elective franchiſe.

It was not till the year 1725, that the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy were preſcribed by an act of the 2d of George the Firſt to be adminiſtered to electors; and in the year 1727, that they were totally prohibited by an act of the 1ſt of the late king, under ſevere penalties, from voting for Members of Parliament, or of Corporations.

From

From this ſhort and juſt ſtatement, it is manifeſt that the treatment and abrogation of the elective franchiſe in Roman Catholics was a late meaſure; that it was adopted near forty years after the Revolution, at a period when danger was no more, aud controverſy had ſubſided; and that it is to be conſidered apart and detached from the general ſyſtem; and that other reaſons than thoſe which produced the former Popery laws created this interdict, and that intereſted and political, rather than juſt and religious motives interfered.

This act, in the year 1727, ſo long after all plauſible grounds of danger were removed, was a moſt extraordinary ſtretch of power, and it ſeems to tranſgreſs thoſe bounds which Parliament cannot paſs. The political annihilation of half their conſtituents by a delegated Aſſembly, appears to be abſurd, and a contradiction in terms; nor can it well be argued that a delegated can abridge a creative power; nor that a child ſhould put a limit to the exiſtence of his parent.

The law in 1641, which perpetuated the Long Parliament; that in 1717, which, to a triennial delegation gave ſeptennial exiſtence, muſt be admitted to be ſtrong meaſures, where Parliament acted with a queſtionable authority, though the latter has now obtained the ſanction of common conſent and long acquieſcence; but a law, cut-

ting off at once half the conſtituents in Ireland, was a ſtill greater ſtretch of authority, for which it does not appear that there was any ſtrong, over-ruling neceſſity, as was the caſe in the latter inſtance, near the commencement of the Hanover Succeſſion.

Whenever men are under ſtrong impreſſions of hope or of fear, artful perſons are not wanting to exaggerate dangers and excite ſuſpicions, to convert thoſe paſſions into acts of violence or injuſtice, to anſwer their own deſigns and ſelfiſh purpoſes.

The danger of religion was the pretext; neceſſary aſcendency of the Proteſtant religion was the cry, the watch-word that was made uſe of, in order to narrow the rights of elective franchiſe, to confine it in few hands, for the intereſt of men who had a borough influence, or for the advantage of the minority of electors of that country.

In order to preſerve that monopoly of franchiſe which was the true aſcendency that was laboured to be eſtabliſhed by the late addreſſes from ſeveral diſtricts in Ireland, it has been ſaid lately, that the Roman Catholics had wiſhed to gain an influence in Parliament, in order to overturn the preſent eſtabliſhment, and the arrangement of property in Ireland, which took place after the Reſtoration.

But

But the latter, aware of the influence of theſe ſuggeſtions, have completely done away their effect, by a general aſſociation; in which they profeſs their political creed, demonſtrate that they hold no opinions of a dangerous tendency to the State, aſſert that they have no deſign to overturn the preſent Eſtabliſhment, or the Act of Settlement; by which laſt, I do not mean that which in this country regulates the ſucceſſion of the Crown, and which is ſo called emphatically; but that law of Charles the Second in Ireland, which diſpoſed of the lands forfeited in the Great Rebellion, chiefly to Proteſtant ſoldiers and adventurers, after the Reſtoration.

I am aware that it has been of late years the ſyſtem of Adminiſtration, in Ireland, never to concede any point to the people, until it becomes a general wiſh, until there is a neceſſity---and then to grant what is deſired at once, without heſitation. Nay more, I know, by experience, that thoſe who anticipate a rational deſire, that which ſooner or later muſt be a public wiſh, are conſidered as fomenting diſputes, and acting as political agitators; which, in a very humble capacity, happened to myſelf, in conſequence of ſome remarks upon this ſubject in the year 1784. But it is true policy to anticipate the wiſh of the people, and not to wait till it becomes a general deſire; obligation is conferred in the one caſe,

caſe, but an acquieſcence in that which cannot be avoided, creates no favour in the other.

Thus circumſtanced, I own, I conſider it to be true policy to concede, that elective franchiſe ſhould be general in Ireland; and that that conceſſion ſhould be at this period, for the *four* following marked and diſtinct reaſons:

Firſt, Becauſe that the act in 1727 was radically wrong; it was the abridgment by a delegated, of a creative right; it was the abridgment of franchiſe by thoſe whoſe credentials or inſtructions did not warrant ſuch an exerciſe of power.

Secondly, From a conſideration of local injury to the agriculture of the country, and detriment to the tenantry, many of the Catholics having loſt their farms, to ſubſtitute others in their place, who were poſſeſſed of the elective franchiſe.

Thirdly, Upon a reflection that all dangers are now removed, and that the people may be gratified, and the Government and Eſtabliſhment ſecured, by one and the ſame meaſure.

And laſtly, Upon a concluſion, which follows as a neceſſary corollary from the laſt conſideration, that inſtead of the preſent oaths, containing a diſavowal of the tenets of their faith, one may be preſcribed to voters who will form a large body, who will *then* have an intereſt

reſt in the Commonwealth; by which their attachment may be inſured to the preſent Eſtabliſhment, and they may thus give a new ſecurity and an additional pledge of their loyalty.

Thus I have endeavoured to prove that this conceſſion would be mutually beneficial. But, as I mentioned the celebrated "*Eſſay on Popular Diſcontents,*" in my laſt letter, I ſhall refer to what the author ſays upon toleration in Holland, and conclude with the opinion of the greateſt Foreign Miniſter this country every ſaw, perhaps the beſt political writer ſhe ever knew, one of the moſt diſintereſted, of the wiſeſt, and the beſt of men, the great Miniſter and Philoſopher, Sir William Temple.

"The way to our future happineſs has been perpetually diſputed through the world, and muſt at laſt be left to the impreſſions made upon every man's belief and conſcience, either by natural or ſupernatural gifts and means; for belief is no more in a man's power than his features or his ſtature; and he that tells me that I muſt change my opinion for his, becauſe it is truer or better, without any other arguments that have to me the force of conviction, may as well tell me that I muſt change my grey eyes for others, becauſe they are better, or more in eſteem. Nor could I ever underſtand how thoſe who call themſelves, and the world uſually calls, religious men,

men, come to put ſo great ſtreſs upon thoſe points of belief where men have ſo little agreed, and ſo little upon thoſe of virtue and morality, in which they have hardly ever diſagreed."

No. 4. FRIDAY, *Auguſt* 3, 1792.

——— Sævior armis,
Luxuria inunbuit, victumque ulciſcitur orbem.

LUCAN.

THE public prints have lately announced the intended eſtabliſhment of a new club in St. James's-ſquare, at a houſe where a chapel was built upon a ſpeculation as a *Maiſon d'Ambaſſade* for the Spaniſh or ſome other Catholic Ambaſſador.

Upon the amuſements and occupations of the *beau monde*, periodical papers have formerly commented; the minuter decencies, the inferior duties, and the practice of daily converſation, were firſt taught by Caſa, in his Book of Manners, and Caſtiglione, in his Courtier; the Tatler and the Spectator were afterwards modelled upon thoſe miſcellanies, according to Johnſon, and poſſibly many odd cuſtoms have crept into our manners and converſation, from the want of ſome judges of propriety, ſimilar to thoſe of former days, who employed their time like Steele and Addiſon.

In the days of the Spectator, White's Chocolate-houſe, which was then kept at the Bedford Head, Covent Garden, before it was removed to

to St. James's-ſtreet, was the principal, perhaps the only houſe where play was openly predominant; but in the laſt ten years almoſt every ſecond houſe, within a certain range of the verge of the Court, has been let for clubs, and tolerated for gambling communities.

The conſequence of this multiplication of male ſocieties has had a fatal effect upon our manners; the ſeparation of the ſexes has introduced a vulgarity in our dreſs, a groſſneſs in our converſation, and a clowniſhneſs in our manners—nay more, it has baniſhed the remnant of hoſpitality.

That it ſhould be countenanced by people of great fortune ſeems very extraordinary, ſince it tends to put a man of an allowance of five hundred or a thouſand a year upon a level with a man of ten thouſand per annum; as all that is required is a ſufficiency to pay for their ordinary in theſe gaming ſeminaries.

It has been remarked, by ſome liberal Frenchmen, before the late Revolution, that if the Engliſh were rich, people of faſhion in this country had leſs for their money, from the courſe of their lives and manners, than thoſe of any other nation in Europe; a remark which will appear to be founded in truth, from the following contraſts to our dull and ſombre way of dawdling away our lives at ordinaries or gaming-houſes, of the mode of living by people of rank,

rank, and even of the middling claſſes in France, before the late Revolution.

Moſt people of fortune at Paris, by which I mean what would be equivalent to three or four thouſand pounds a year in England, kept an open table of eight or ten covers, to which a certain number of friends had a conſtant invitation: the mode of keeping this open table, and preventing its degenerating into an ordinary (for as ſuch all very large companies were held in France) was curious; and as I have not ſeen it mentioned by any modern traveller, the following ſhort detail may not be unacceptable:

It was neceſſary for thoſe who were thus conſtantly invited to ſend to inquire of the porter if the maſter of the houſe received company (as the phraſe was) that day: if the anſwer was in the negative, it was underſtood the table was full, and thus a pleaſant ſociety was never overſtocked: it is to be obſerved, however, that this ſyſtem, to many in this country, would appear very dull, becauſe the cloth was not removed, nor was the bottle circulated upon the brown board, as with us; the dinner never exceeded an hour and a half; coffee made its appearance at a ſtated time, when the men and the ladies roſe together from table.

From a very convenient cuſtom which is predominant in France and other countries on the Continent, any perſon who had one good apart-

ment

ment was enabled to ſelect a pleaſant party at dinner; becauſe in every ſtreet there were *traiteurs*, who charged themſelves with the whole detail of furniſhing every article of dinner, at about a crown a head at moſt, and as their own ſervants waited on the gueſts, attendants were not wanted.

This matter is thus detailed, becauſe travellers have omitted mentioning theſe minute circumſtances, as too unimportant to dwell upon, though, upon minute particulars, the convenience, perhaps the happineſs of life, in a great meaſure depends.

This mode of life was certainly more rational and convenient than that of Clubs, where the ſexes are ſeparated, where ſometimes few or no members are to be found, and where, at other periods, a dinner reſembles an ordinary at an election, or a horſe-race. Elegance and hoſpitality, however, have taken their flight now from that country, and licentiouſneſs pervades private as well as public ſocieties, ſince the Revolution.

It is reported, however, that this new club is to ſuperſede all the reſt, in point of extent and magnificence; that more than a plum has been ſubſcribed for its eſtabliſhment; that ladies, as well as men, are to be members; that the tavern and the ball-room are to be united: upon which,

I ſhall

I ſhall trouble you with the following concluſive obſervations.

Many of the maſters of the preſent faſhionable clubs have laid out large ſums upon the premiſes, relying upon the reſort of the Members to their houſes; upon their ſupport and countenance, for which they have entered into written engagements, the Club which is now in contemplation muſt be a great and unjuſt detriment, therefore, to the old eſtabliſhments.

The admittance of ladies of faſhion to a tavern or a club-houſe, was ſo decried about twenty years ago, that the recollection of the remarks upon that inſtitution, will ſave me and your readers much trouble; perhaps, it may not be amiſs to remark, that the Upholſterer who undertook it was ruined, though he was indemnified by ſome thouſands, obtained by actions from three noble ſecurities.

But, Sir, the moſt extraordinary circumſtance attending this report is, (for as ſuch only I ſtate it) that the new club is to be countenanced by the ſecond perſonage in the kingdom—this induces me to believe that the whole account has originated from ſome random converſation, and has no other foundation; for I have too high an opinion of the perſon in queſtion, to ſuppoſe that he would countenance any inſtitution which probably would, in the end, become a gambling ſeminary, and be notoriouſly a breach of the laws of this country.

No. 5. WEDNESDAY, *Auguſt* 8, 1792.

Quis ignorat, JUDICES, maximam illecebram eſſe peccandi, impunitatis ſpem.

CICERO.

OUR excellent and invaluable Conſtitution has deviſed ſo complete and admirable a ſyſtem of modern criminal juriſprudence, that we muſt be ſurprized that there is not a greater analogy between principles and effects; that the number of public depredations daily increaſe; and that in this inſtance, politically ſpeaking, you do not know the tree by its fruits.

I ſay modern, becauſe there are ſome obſolete laws ſtill upon the code, which require a judicious and temperate reform. It was upon the ſtrict execution of ſimilar inſtitutions, upon an antiquated and cruel law in Venice, that Shakeſpeare has founded The MERCHANT of VENICE, and compoſed that admired and almoſt proverbial ſpeech upon Mercy, which, however, is too often injudiciouſly quoted, frequently miſapplied, and its tendency generally miſunderſtood.

The great happineſs of a free ſtate conſiſts not only in the mildneſs of the laws, but in the certainty of their execution. "When I am called upon (ſaid the great and excellent Chief

Juſtice Hale) to ſhew mercy to a criminal, let me remember, at the ſame time, that there is ſome mercy due to my country." Tranſgreſſors are not puniſhed only for paſt offences, but that their certain fate may be a warning to others. The principle that ſhould pervade a code of criminal juriſprudence, is beautifully deſcribed in Holy Writ: "Let a mark be ſet upon the houſe where the plague is, that the man who ſhall enter ſhall know that he muſt die."

I have been led into this train of reflections by a late condemnation at the aſſizes in a neighbouring county, where a man who was condemned upon the cleareſt evidence, for having ſtolen ſeveral head of cattle, was recommended to the Judge by the Counſel, at the deſire of a Noble proſecutor.

And here it may be aſked, what the motives of the proſecution were, if the courſe of law was intended to be ſtopped by a partial interference? If humanity was in queſtion, why was the criminal brought to trial in the inſtance? And if compaſſion is to be diſplayed, why was it done in this circuitous manner, at the expenſe of the ſafety of the commonwealth, ſince every offender that is thus reprieved, is an encouragement to future tranſgreſſors?

To this ſource may be traced the exceſs of depredations which at preſent prevail in this capital. The frequent reprieves of thoſe who are

condemned by juries, by the judgment of their peers, by the juſt deciſion of their country; when malefactors can calculate ſo many chances in their favour, from a miſtaken and a cruel lenity, after the faireſt condemnation, we need not be ſurprized that they ſhould multiply and increaſe.

The ſtory of a celebrated malefactor, not many years ago, is a complete juſtification of the foregoing aſſertions.

A man had been, after a variety of crimes, at laſt led to the fatal tree; when the rope was about his neck, and the cart was going to drive off, a comrade of his called out to the Sheriff, that the man under ſentence was innocent, and that he himſelf had committed the robbery in queſtion. The Sheriff very humanely ſtopped the execution, and ſent an account of this to the Secretary of State's office, and an order came to carry the man back to Newgate, where he was ſhortly after not only reprieved but diſcharged.

This was the famous Patrick Madan, who was committed for ſeven years to priſon, afterwards, for a riot, and releaſed from his impriſonment in Newgate, when it was burned, in 1780.

He then formed, as it was ſaid, an academy for houſe-breakers; and in one of his expeditions he was taken in a ſhop, diſcovered, and capitally

tally convicted: notwithſtanding which, he was reprieved for tranſportation. He was afterwards found at large, when he again received ſentence of death, but he was reprieved once more to be tranſported: it was ſaid that he had formed a conſpiracy on board the ſhip; that he had bored a hole in the bottom, and in the confuſion that he got aſhore: he was again retaken; but, inſtead of being remanded for his former ſentence, he was told at the bar of the Old Bailey that he ſhould be ſent abroad. This change of puniſhment he refuſed to comply with, unleſs his treatment in Newgate, where he was chained to the floor, ſhould be better: but, upon the Recorder informing him that his former ſentence ſhould be executed on that day fortnight, at Tyburn, he accepted of the condition, when he was tranſported to Africa. Of his fate afterwards there were various reports, but none could be aſcertained.

But whatever his ultimate fate was, it is certain that one inſtance of this ſort muſt tend to harden more villains than the execution of twenty malefactors could diſmay. I ſhall purſue this intereſting ſubject hereafter: mean time, I cannot help referring to the celebrated aphoriſm, which is the motto to this Eſſay, and was addreſſed by Tully to the Roman Judges, in his oration for Milos, "that the hope of impunity was the great incentive to tranſgreſſion."

No. 6. SATURDAY, *Auguſt* 12, 1792.

Quid triſtes querimoniæ,
Si non ſupplicio, culpa reciditur?

HORACE.

THE principal cauſe of the great increaſe of depredations in this metropolis, is certainly, in a great meaſure, to be attributed to the diſpenſing power; for as ſuch I conſider the frequent ſuſpenſion of ſentences which have been awarded by juries, by the determination of their peers, and the voice of the country.

How common is it to read in the public prints, where ſtealers of cattle are concerned, of the priſoners being reprieved at the end of the aſſize, before the Magiſtrates left the town. Thus the ends of juſtice are defeated, as the repreſentation of the Beggar's Opera is rendered pernicious by a reprieve.

On the 8th inſtant, I troubled you with ſome comments upon this intereſting ſubject, to which I ſhall annex the following ſhort remarks, unwilling to occupy a larger ſpace in a Paper conducted on ſuch public-ſpirited principles, and ſo uniformly beneficial to the commonwealth.

I am aware, that ſome may conſider theſe ſtrictures as invidious, which counteract an amiable

able tendency and a merciful diſpoſition; but, upon mature reflection, I cannot help thinking that mild puniſhments, which are executed with certainty, would be the ſureſt means of preventing tranſgreſſions, and the beſt police that could be ſuggeſted.

When we conſider the great difficulty of bringing offenders to juſtice, of ſubſtantiating their crimes, and of identifying their perſons; when we reflect upon the fairneſs and the publicity of trials, and the lenient and merciful diſpoſition of our criminal code, we muſt lament that the determinations of juries ſhould be ſuſpended, or ſet aſide, upon light or trivial grounds.

And yet, if reports may be believed, applications have been made through very inferior channels, which have operated to the ſuſpenſion of juſtice, and to the conſequent encouragement of tranſgreſſion, by holding out hopes of impunity.

The prineiple which operates upon theſe occaſions may have a merciful tendency, when conſidered in the abſtract, and with a reference to a particular caſe; but when regarded in a general light, and a comprehenſive view of the ſubject; if it holds out hopes of impunity, and thereby increaſes the number of tranſgreſſors, it may well be pronounced to be cruelty in the extreme.

Nor is it contrary to the genius of a free State, that a certainty of puniſhment ſhould predominate; ſince an enlightened foreigner, a great admirer of our Conſtitution, and who underſtood its principles better than any Frenchman, ſpeaks of this theoretical certainty in the execution of the law, which he conceives to be congenial to the principles of freedom.

"In proportion to the approach of any Conſtitution to a Republican form of Government (ſays Monteſquieu) the more the ſentences of Courts of Juſtice are certain and determined. It was a great fault that the Ephori judged arbitrarily in Sparta; the judgments of the firſt Roman Conſuls were ſimilar; but this inconvenience was afterwards reformed, and checked by their laws.

"Thus in England the juries decide whether the accuſed is guilty of the crime with which he is charged, and the certain puniſhment is found in the law; and if he is found guilty, the Judge has only to uſe his eyes, to pronounce that ſentence which the criminal code has awarded."

I ſhall conclude this Eſſay with the words of a writer juſtly celebrated for the amiable and benevolent tendency of his work upon Crimes and Puniſhments, in which he finally abridges the ſum and ſubſtance of his treatiſe;

"In

" In fine, (ſays the Marquis de Beccaria) a " puniſhment ſhould be certain, immediate, and " neceſſary, commenſurate to the crime, and " preſcribed by the laws."

No. 7. THURSDAY, *Auguſt* 16, 1792.

——— Sævior enſe
Parcendi Rabies.
CLAUDIAN.

THE ſubject of the Eſſays of the 8th and 11th of Auguſt is ſo very important, ſo preſſing, and ſo ſeaſonable, that it will be my beſt excuſe for treſpaſſing once more upon yours and the public attention.

The principle which ſhould pervade the criminal code of every country, ſhould be that which prevents the number of neceſſary executions, and carries along with it the greateſt terror; that puniſhment ſhould extend to few, and fear reach to many: but I conceive that the certainty of the execution of the law would be this ſalutary principle, whence it follows that it ſhould be conſtantly enforced, and uniformly followed.

In France, before the late Revolution, whatever defects there were in their Government, their police was certainly admirable; and particularly the conſtant execution of the determinations of Courts of Juſtice; the conſequence of which was, that both their ſtreets might be paſſed, and their high roads travelled, at all hours,

hours, in perfect ſecurity; and houſe-breaking was almoſt unknown; of which the following anecdote is a pleaſant illuſtration:

Some years before the late Revolution, a burglary had been committed, and a houſe robbed, to a conſiderable amount, at Paris. This was then an offence ſo rare, that the Police obſerved, that they ſuppoſed it had been committed *par des Roſſignols Anglois*—by ſome Engliſh Nightingales; by which droll appellation, they meant to diſtinguiſh a ſpecies of offenders who were almoſt unknown amongſt them.

Our anceſtors have left us a moſt admirable criminal code, the product of experience, nurtured by the wiſdom of ages. Before we turn our eyes to new ſyſtems of police, let us try what the ſtrict execution of the old laws will effect. It has been the opinion of men, the beſt informed upon the ſubject, that by a rigid execution of our legal ordinances, one half at leaſt, if not more, would be ſhortly ſubtracted from the fatal calendar.

I am aware that mercy has many advocates, and muſt ever be popular in this country; to men who view only one caſe, who govern themſelves by particular inſtances, and not by a general view of the ſubject, many arguments in favour of a diſpenſing power may ariſe: but to thoſe who conſider it in a more enlarged point of view, who reaſon from its general effects, that

that principle muſt be reprobated which is falſe to its profeſſion; which encourages numbers to tranſgreſs, and ultimately neceſſitates many executions, by holding out the hopes of impunity.

I ſhall conclude theſe remarks with the aphoriſm contained in the motto to this Eſſay; which was the lamentation of Claudian, in the decline of the Roman Empire, under the government of Areadius and Honorius; that the rage for pardoning tranſgreſſors was the great ſcourge of the community.

No. 8. WEDNESDAY, *Auguſt* 29, 1792.

——— En quò diſcordia cives,
Perduxit miſeros! VIRGIL.

THE preſent *anarchy* which prevails in FRANCE, and the effects it will probably produce in the ſyſtem of Europe, is a fertile theme, upon which various ſpeculations and diſcordant conjectures have prevailed.

While nations are unanimous in the choice of this or that ſyſtem of government, neighbouring kingdoms have no right to interfere; for this reaſon, the conduct of the Northern Deſpot, relative to the late Conſtitution of Poland, excited the juſt indignation of Europe, juſtly engaged the friendſhip of all lovers of rational freedom, and the liberal patronage of Britons.

But where parties prevail, where countries are torn and divided by contending factions, where one of them claims the protection of neighbouring States—in this caſe, foreigners have interfered, poſſibly with ſome ſemblance of right; and if their deſigns are guided by liberality, and their councils with wiſdom, they may ultimately be the greateſt benefactors, by the reſtoration of order,

order, of temperate government, and national freedom.

Thus, in the memorable period, from 1619 to 1648, of the thirty years war which deſolated Germany, antecedent to the famous pacification of Weſtphalia, both in hoſtilities and negociation, every power in Europe interfered, ſave only Ruſſia, who had not at that time entered into the European ſyſtem.

Though theſe hoſtilities commenced upon the ſucceſſion of the Elector Palatine, the unfortunate relative of King James the Firſt, who interfered only by ſome fruitleſs negociations, yet, under his ſucceſſor, a large body of Engliſh ſerved with Guſtavus Adolphus. Religious principles, as well as the civil rights of every member of the Germanic ſyſtem, were concerned in thoſe memorable conteſts. Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and laſtly France, under the reign (as it may be well called) of Cardinal Richelieu, were oppoſed to the German and Spaniſh branches of the Houſe of Auſtria; when at the end of that long period of thirty years hoſtilities, peace was at length reſtored by their arduous efforts, and the negociations of five years in the Congreſs of Munſter.

When we look at the mighty intereſts which are now engaged, and carry our views forward to their probable future operations, we may poſſibly ſee our way obſcurely through the miſt in which

which they are enveloped; and if the interference of the great Continental Powers is guided by ſimilar views, and as wiſe and as benevolent deſigns as thoſe which predominated in 1648, poſſibly the Conſtitution, founded on the broad baſis of rational freedom, and practicable ſubordination, may be at length reſtored to France, and guaranteed to that country by all Europe; as the Germanic ſyſtem, which has now remained unimpaired, in eſſentials, at leaſt, was grounded upon, and ſecured by the memorable Treaty of Weſtphalia.

But the bleſſings of peace will probably not be ſpeedily reſtored, nor obtained, without much farther effuſion of blood; from the preſent temper of that country; from the ſyſtem which they have in view, and its impracticability, in France, with a reference to their rooted principles and attachment to Monarchy and to Ariſtocracy.

As the American war was the parent of the French Revolution, the Conſtitution, and the ſyſtem of the Anglo-Americans has been the great model, the archetype of that government which the predominant faction have laboured to eſtabliſh in France.

This is well known to thoſe who have been in that country ſince the Revolution; though to meer theoriſts, who have written or deſcanted upon what they never ſaw, it appears almoſt incredible,

credible, that ancient cuſtoms and rooted prejudices ſhould have changed in ſo ſhort a period.

With the exiſtence of regal or ariſtocratical principles, this ſyſtem is abſolutely incompatible; hence the deſire of the faction, to annihilate the veſtiges of a Monarchy, and the traces and remnants of Nobility; who would never ſuffer ſuch a Commonwealth, and could not bear to vegetate under ſuch a Government.

To a great part of the French Community this ſyſtem is highly revolting; and its eſtabliſhment, according to their principles, would be as unjuſt as a decree enjoining the Gentoos, whoſe religion forbids them, like the ancient Pythagoreans, the uſe of animal food, to live upon fleſh. If therefore the efforts of the Allied Powers ſhall be directed to the eſtabliſhment of a rational and practicable ſyſtem, maintaining a reaſonable ſubordination, a juſt gradation, where ancient rights and uſages ſhall be regarded, while the privileges of the Democracy ſhall be preſerved: if this ſhould be their deſign; if this principle ſhould pervade their operations—mankind ſhall approve their generous efforts, and Europe ſhall applaud a league conducted by ſuch noble and generous intentions.

But if partitioning treaties ſhould be in contemplation—if the revival of obſolete claims—if the abrogation of ancient conventions and ſolemn treaties—if the uſual policy of availing them-

themſelves of their neighbours diſtreſs—if theſe deſigns ſhould pervade their combination—it is not difficult to foretell that the mighty efforts of the Allied Powers will only ſerve to raiſe a ſplendid Mauſoleum for Regal Power in Europe.

No. 9. SATURDAY, *September* 8, 1792.

In hoc portu, Athenienſium nobilitatis, imperii,
Gloriæ naufragium factum, exiſtimatur.

CICERO.

THE alluſion of the Roman orator, in one of his orations againſt Verres, to the calamity which befel Athens, in their imprudent attack upon Syracuſe, may be converted into a general maxim relative to thoſe Princes and States who form remote Cruſades, and unwiſely and wantonly engage in the domeſtic troubles and inteſtine factions of powerful kingdoms.

As ſuch, it may be applied to the preſent mighty combination againſt France, and it will lead us to think that the allied Princes will demur ſomewhat longer before they engage in an enterprize, where, according to their engagements in their manifeſtos to the Powers of Europe, no advantage is propoſed to themſelves.

Having troubled you with ſome remarks on the 29th ult. I ſhall purſue the ſame train of reflections in the preſent Eſſay. I can never think without delight and ſatisfaction of the ſucceſs of my humble labours in former communications upon moſt important ſubjects. Happy is that country where the Freedom of the Preſs, in a

Paper conducted like your's, may become the vehicle of truth. The man who ſows an acorn in a good ſoil, may plant that tree, which in future ages may become the ſafe-guard, the bulwark of the liberties of mankind.

When we conſider the many difficulties attending upon the propoſed excurſion of a mighty hoſt to Paris, when we reflect on the diſtance,* the difficulties of their march, the doubtful event, even upon their ſucceſs, and the impoſſibility of dragooning ſix and twenty millions of people into their ſyſtem, we ſhall be ſtill more and more confirmed in this opinion.

I ſpeak not of defenſive, but of aggreſſive wars, when I ſay that France has ſtood alone againſt all Europe. Hiſtory tells us, in the end of the laſt century, of the combination of Spain, England, Holland, and Germany, and in the beginning of this, of the ſame Powers, with the addition of Portugal, and the mighty armies under the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, and domeſtic annals inform us, that after all the waſte of Engliſh blood and treaſure, the

* The laſt march of a foreign army to that capital, was that of Alexander Farneſe, Duke of Parma, who marched from Bruſſels with 20,000 men, on the 3d of Auguſt, and arrived at Lagny, near Paris, on the 5th of September, 1590, when he compelled Henry the Fourth to raiſe the ſiege of Paris.

Allies had not paſſed the frontiers of France at the concluſion of the ſucceſſion war.

Of the invaſion of foreign armies, it may be generally remarked, that the waſte of treaſure ſerves only to enrich the invaded country. Thus in Ireland, where the great queſtion was decided at the Revolution, it is ſtill remembered that the country ſuffered materially by the withdrawing of the two armies, and the loſs of their expenditure; but beſides the great expenſe of treaſure, the ſtill greater waſte, and more important loſs of ſoldiers, is to be eſtimated in arduous campaigns and diſtant expeditions.

"It is not ſurprizing (ſays Marſhal Saxe, in his Reveries) to ſee ſo many diſeaſes in an army. Thoſe who have the ſtrongeſt conſtitutions, perhaps eſcape the longeſt, but they muſt at laſt ſubmit to calamities which are unavoidable. I have always remarked that a ſingle campaign reduces an army one-third at leaſt, and that the cavalry in particular is in ſo wretched a ſtate at the end of October, as to be no longer able to keep the field."

It is true that this remark applies to that great remnant of human error, to war in general; but to this particular aggreſſion, to this ſpecies of hoſtility, deſertion is to be ſuperadded, and the rewards which are offered by a country, which has lately emerged and been recently emancipated from deſpotiſm.

But

But to bring theſe conſiderations home to the feelings of Britons, and to the reflections of men who muſt value the freedom of others, in proportion as they prize and eſtimate their own; it muſt give peculiar ſatisfaction to the people of this country, that not only our inſular ſituation, but our true intereſts, recommend an abſolute neutrality. That ſyſtem muſt ever be condemned which interferes in the domeſtic troubles of their neighbours: France has paid too dear for meddling in our Colonial diſſenſions; and one of the greateſt Princes, certainly the firſt General, perhaps one of the firſt writers Europe has known, has emphatically condemned that ſpecies of interference. It was expreſſed, in an important memorial to this country; it contains, however, a general maxim, the truth of which is not impeached, by his own, and the ſubſequent conduct of his ſucceſſor, ſince paſſion, intereſt, or ambition, often warp the conduct of men, and lead them blindly to adopt ſyſtems, which, in their calmer and more philoſophical moments, they have emphatically and notoriouſly diſapproved.

I allude to that Reſcript which was preſented in 1744 to our Court, upon the attack upon Sileſia, by the Miniſter of Frederic the Great: "As no German Prince (ſaid he) has a right to meddle with the internal policy of Great Britain, nor with the conſtitution of its govern-

ment, I have reaſon to hope that the Engliſh nation will not meddle with the domeſtic affairs of the Empire: I entertain theſe hopes the more, becauſe England has no reaſon to meddle with this quarrel from any commercial conſideration; and although it had a greater inclination for one German Court than for another, yet I think it too unreaſonable to pretend that ſuch powerful and reſpectable Princes as thoſe of the Empire are, ſhould be obliged to rule their conduct upon the inclinations of thoſe amongſt the Engliſh, who ſtrive to make their countrymen enter into quarrels that are of no manner of concern to England.

No. 10. THURSDAY, *September* 20, 1792.

Tantum Religio potuit ſuadere malorum.

VIRGIL.

BEFORE I enter upon the merits of the great queſtion, which at preſent engroſſes the attention of our Siſter Kingdom, it may not be inexpedient to preface theſe obſervations with a few leading principles and ſome general ſtatements of the various ſects and religious diſtinctions and diviſions of the people of Ireland.

Miniſters who have the great political chart of Europe before their eyes, at the preſent momentous criſis, may not have leiſure to advert to matters which are comparatively of leſs magnitude. The eye which has been employed upon large objects and extenſive proſpects, cannot immediately contract its powers, to view and examine thoſe of a more minute and of a leſs intereſting nature.

Of the three parties under which the inhabitants of Ireland may be claſſed, namely, Diſſenters, Church of England Men, and Roman Catholics, the laſt are by far the moſt numerous: by accurate returns made in 1735, they appear to be about three-fifths of the whole population. This diviſion, which are as three to

two in the totality, are ſtill prevented from voting for Members of Parliament, and from ſerving upon Juries.

It is ſaid, that the firſt are more numerous than the ſecond claſs; but this is only a report, which I am not able to prove. To the Diſſenters, however, every indulgence has been granted that they have or could deſire. In 1719 they were relieved from every prohibition, ſave only one, viz. the injunction of a qualification for offices of receiving the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England; but this part of the Popery laws, which contained what is here termed the Sacramental Teſt, was in 1780 repealed ſolely in their favour.

Thus circumſtanced, the Diſſenters in Ireland can have no deſire for innovation, only as it extends to the community at large, ſince their intereſts are co-extenſive with thoſe of the maſs of the people. It is ſaid that they are deſirous of a parliamentary reform, and other changes in the Conſtitution; but with them they have no common intereſt, and have diſavowed a political connection; nor is there now a common intereſt upon which a union or alliance can be grounded. The cauſe of the Catholics reſts upon its own merits, and may be diſcuſſed and treated of ſeparately and detached from every other party conſideration.

The

The ſyſtem which is known in Ireland by the name of the Popery Laws, originated principally in 1703. Thoſe ſevere penalties, which were then thought to be neceſſary, but of which, within the laſt twelve years, nine parts in ten have been repealed, did not comprehend a prohibition to vote for Members of Parliament; that interdict commenced near thirty years afterwards, in 1727, in the firſt year of the reign of his late Majeſty, after a general election.

From the Revolution to this period, many plots have been hatched in theſe kingdoms, two dangerous rebellions have endangered the preſent happy eſtabliſhment; the diſaffected have ſecretly conſpired, or avowedly manifeſted their enmity to the Act of Settlement; but during the whole of this long period, the Iriſh Catholics, under the preſſure of a ſevere and intemperate ſyſtem, have ſhewed no ſyſtematical deſigns of revolt, or manifeſted any general act of rebellion; the arguments for penalties and reſtrictions always turn upon their conduct in 1641 and in 1688; ſuch were their principles in thoſe periods---the lapſe of a century is trifling, ſuch would be their conduct now, was it not for the operation of the Penal Laws, ſay their opponents.

It is very remarkable, however, that thoſe reſtrictions which obtained near the Revolution, which

which the bounds of this Eſſay will not allow me, and which I hope are too well known to render it neceſſary for me to detail, have ſince been repealed, while the prohibition of the Elective Franchiſe, which formed no part of the original ſyſtem which originated in 1727, near forty years after the Revolution, and it is ſaid from meer private perſonal motives in a diſappointed candidate for one of the ſouthern counties at that general election, ſtill remains in full force, by which a majority of the community have no intereſt in the choice of Repreſentatives in Parliament.

The prohibition of the Catholics to ſerve upon Grand and Petty Juries, except in caſes where a ſufficient number of Proteſtants cannot be found in the vicinity, originated from a clauſe in the ſixth of Anne, chapter the 6th; but it is to be noted that this fourth ſection, which contains the interdict, reaches thoſe caſes principally in the Popery laws, nine parts in ten of which have ſince been repealed.

In Ireland the powers of Grand Juries are far more conſiderable than in England; from their powers of raiſing money for making the roads in the counties of that kingdom, they may be conſidered as a ſort of minor Parliaments: to enter into the detail of the ſeveral Acts of Parliament on which thoſe powers are grounded, and of the ſyſtem of making roads in that country ſo different

rent from that of England, would exceed the bounds of this Eſſay.

It is only mentioned here, to ſhew, that this power being now confined ſolely to Proteſtants, the Grand Juries, who have entered into ſtrong reſolutions againſt granting any farther indulgence to the Catholics, may have other motives than what might be ſuppoſed to influence bodies of men of that deſcription in this country.

A monopoly of power in all countries will look with a jealous eye upon the extenſion of franchiſes, which may entrench upon their own particular province. I do not mean to inſinuate more, than that Grand Juries, in that country, are not, nor ought to be, conſidered as totally diſintereſted in the agitation of the preſent great national queſtion.

Thus I have troubled you with a fair ſtate of facts, which are admitted on all ſides, ſave only an anecdote in the eighth paragraph, relative to the Elective Franchiſe. It is ſaid, that it was abrogated, upon private motives, in 1727; but this is a meer hearſay, which I am not ſufficiently informed of, poſitively to authenticate.

From admitted facts, any man may draw his own inferences; and I ſhall trouble you with

with a few remarks upon theſe premiſes another day, which I ſhall ſubmit, through the medium of your excellent Paper, to a diſcerning and impartial public.

No. 11.

No. 11. WEDNESDAY, *September* 26, 1792.

Le faux zèle eſt un tyran, qui dépeuple les provinces; la tolérance eſt une tendre mère, qui les ſoigne & les fait fleurir.

FREDERIC LE GRAND.

IN conſidering the great ſubject which occupies the attention of the people of Ireland, I ſhall readily admit that the preſent ſyſtem of Government in Church and State in that kingdom, eſtabliſhed at the Revolution, ought to be zealouſly and ſtrenuouſly maintained.

Conformable to this principle, I conceive that the admiſſion of Catholics into the Legiſlature, or the primary offices of the State, ought not to be conceded. The definition of an eſtabliſhed religion is, that the Government, whether it be veſted in one or in many, in one or more aſſemblies, or, to ſpeak more diſtinctly, that the Members of that Government ſhould be of this or of that perſuaſion. In Ireland, after an appeal to Heaven, the final award was in favour of a Proteſtant eſtabliſhment. This has been guaranteed by a variety of laws, either made at the Revolution, or near that memorable period, or grounded upon ſimilar principles, viz. upon the attachment of the Catholics to foreign

foreign ſway, demonſtrated by overt acts of rebellion.

The Roman Catholics have lately aſſociated for the purpoſe of carrying two points by an application to the Legiſlature: their meeting is ſaid to be orderly; at leaſt, there is no evidence of a contrary tendency: the requeſts are, that of being Jurors, and of obtaining a right of voting for Members of Parliament, which, for brevity, I ſhall call the Elective Franchiſe; and this laſt I ſhall regard as the principal object, and conſider it independent of the other.

Why then the queſtion will narrow itſelf to this inquiry: Does the Elective Franchiſe depend upon the laws at the period of the Revolution, or was this reſtraint built upon ſimilar principles? If the reſult of our reſearch ſhall be, to anſwer this queſtion in the negative, it follows, it does not intrench upon the Proteſtant Eſtabliſhment.

Neither the ſyſtem of the Popery Laws, at the Revolution, nor in the Queen's reign, contain any ſuch reſtraint: Catholics were enjoined to take certain oaths, ſix months before they voted at elections, in 1716; and in 1727 they were, for the firſt time, prohibited from exerciſing the Elective Franchiſe.

Having lately ſeen extracts of thoſe laws in your valuable Paper, I ſhall not dwell upon admitted facts; but though this reſtraint originated near

near forty years after the Revolution, it may be ſuppoſed that they were grounded and framed upon the principles of thoſe penal laws which were paſſed at that period.

The annals of Ireland, however, and the Journals of Parliament, furniſh no ſimilar grounds; the year 1727 was diſtinguiſhed by no bad deſigns manifeſted by the Catholics, though there was a war with Spain, Gibraltar was beſieged, and the Dukes of Wharton and Ormond engaged in the Spaniſh ſervice; the late King ſucceeded his father, with the eaſe and tranquillity attendant upon a common, ordinary, private ſucceſſion.

It has often been lamented that political arguments can ſeldom be reduced to a mathematical demonſtration; let us ſee, however, for variety, at leaſt, whether the above ſtatement and concluſion may not be formed into a ſyllogiſm.

To belong to, or become a part of any ſyſtem, a meaſure muſt be of the ſame date, or be grounded upon like reaſons and ſimilar principles; but the interdict of the Elective Franchiſe was not of the ſame date with the Proteſtant ſyſtem at the Revolution, nor was it grounded upon ſimilar reaſons, namely, the open diſaffection and evident rebellion of the Papiſts, and, therefore, it forms no part of the ſaid eſtabliſhment at the Revolution.

It

It is ſaid, however, that, by this requeſt, they claim the exerciſe of political power: this power is exerciſed in theſe kingdoms only by hereditary and temporary delegation; but Catholics are incapable of being Members of this delegation; therefore, while that reſtraint remains, while they are inadmiſſible in the Legiſlature, it cannot be argued that they can have the exerciſe of political power.

It is ſtrongly urged, however, by their opponents, that the Elective Franchiſe would give them an influence over the repreſentatives of the people; that it would have a tendency to remove the reſtraints to their admiſſion into the Legiſlature: thoſe who argue thus, ſeem to forget that there is a negative upon every Parliamentary propoſition in the Crown and the Houſe of Lords; but this is the fortreſs of their adverſaries; and in ſtating it, I have given a full ſcope, and every advantage to that ſide of the queſtion: upon this ſtrong ground and formidable poſition, I ſhall only riſk one obſervation, and it is this—that if their own voluntary declaration of laſt April is not valid now, if it has loſt its force by time, or ceaſes to be obligatory by change of circumſtances, that the Elective Franchiſe ought not to be conceded to the Catholics without a ſolemn ratification of that renunciation.

Thus

Thus I have laboured to prove that this requeſt, if it ſhould be granted, would not intrench upon the Proteſtant aſcendancy eſtabliſhed at the Revolution. Let me add, that its operation would be friendly to agriculture, and create a yeomanry in that country; whilſt its influence upon Parliament would be diſtant, becauſe, generally ſpeaking, it would not operate till 1798, upon a general election.

After refuting the reflections on the penal code of the Preſident Monteſquieu, by deducing its neceſſity, from our annals, Sir William Blackſtone concludes with the following remark, ſtill more applicable to the ſeverer ſyſtem of Ireland than to that of this country:

"But if a time (continues he) ſhould ever arrive, and perhaps it is not very diſtant, when all fears of a Pretender ſhall have vaniſhed, and the power and influence of the Pope ſhall become feeble, ridiculous, and contemptible, not only in England, but in every kingdom in Europe, it may, probably, not be amiſs to review and ſoften thoſe rigorous edicts; at leaſt, till the civil principles of the Roman Catholics ſhall again call upon the Legiſlature to renew them."

To thoſe who carry their views beyond their own ſenſible horizon, and regard the daily tranſactions on the Continent of Europe, it may perhaps be evident that the period predicted by Sir William Blackſtone is at length arrived;

that thoſe powers and titles appear now only in hiſtory, like the Witch of Endor, or the claims to the kingdom of Jeruſalem.

In the mean time, it muſt be the wiſh of every moderate man, of every true patriot, and real friend to the Commonwealth, that theſe controverſies may be ſoftened, and their conſequences alleviated by juſt and reaſonable conceſſion; monopolies of power, like monopolies in trade, are ever injurious to a community. Sure I am, that by the admiſſion of liberal diſcuſſion, and the ſtatements of the grounds of arguments on both ſides, you have rendered a great public ſervice: ſo ſhall juſt concluſions be ultimately drawn from admitted premiſes, and thus ſhall declamation be ſuperſeded by fair reaſoning.

"Fanatic violence (ſays a late Royal Hiſtorian) lays waſte kingdoms—which might be cultivated and improved by the indulgent hand and maternal care of toleration."

No. 12. TUESDAY, *October* 2, 1792.

On doit moins reſpecter les hommes qui périſſent; que la vérité qui ne meurt jamais.

FRÉDÉRIC LE GRAND.

HAVING, in my letters of the 20th and 25th of September, traced the two reſtraints under which the Catholics ſuffer from their origin; having proved that the two points which they wiſh to carry, and for which they have aſſociated, in order to prefer petitions to the Legiſlature, formed no part of the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment at the Revolution; that thoſe interdicts were neither coeval with that ſyſtem, nor grounded upon ſimilar cauſes, or neceſſitated by the ſame reaſons; I ſhall now proceed to trouble you with ſome general remarks and concluſive obſervations.

Let it ſuffice to repeat once more, that the interdict about Juries originated in 1707,* and the prohibition of voting for Members of Parliament in 1727.† Touching the firſt queſtion, I ſhall ſay but little on that head, as it does not form an article in the Addreſs of the Grand

* 6th Anne, chap. 6, ſect. 5.

† 1ſt Geo. II. chap. 9, ſect. 7.

Jury of Dublin to the Iriſh nation. This reſtraint was intended as a counter ſecurity to that ſyſtem, known by the general name of the Popery Laws, in the Queen's reign, nine parts in ten of which have been lately repealed. Common rights and uniform privileges require ſimilar protection, and a uniformity in juriſprudence. The great remaining reſtraint is that relative to the elective franchiſe, the rights and privileges of which depend upon another tribunal than that of Juries, and to which alone I ſhall devote the remainder of my ſpeculations.

Upon a review, then, of the origin of the two reſtraints in queſtion, and the actual ſtate of the Catholics in Ireland, it is a principle which I conceive I may fairly aſſume, that the benefits of our happy Conſtitution ſhould be extended to all the inhabitants of Ireland; that juſtice, expedience, benevolence, demand this extenſion. Unleſs this propoſition can be controverted by the ſafety of the State, the principles of a particular claſs of men, combined with their power to injure the commonwealth—and laſtly, unleſs internal danger, or a great external criſis, forbid this extenſion, to each of which terms I ſhall, for the ſake of brevity, allot one ſentence, and no more.

Juſtice requires that thoſe who have behaved as peaceably, with as much loyalty to the Crown and

and the Conſtitution as the Diſſenters, who have given no proof of diſaffection for more than a century, during which period two formidable rebellions have occurred, ſhould be treated with equal clemency and ſimilar indulgence; but the Diſſenters of Ireland were relieved from every ſpecies of reſtraint in 1719,* ſave only the Sacramental Teſt, which was repealed in their favour in 1780: ſo that they have nothing now left to deſire, no reſtraint to be removed; nor can imagination reach any conſtitutional alteration they can expect, unleſs it be the payment of tythes, to which they are ſubjected in common with the reſt of their fellow-citizens.

Expedience ſuggeſts that we ſhould give, before an over-ruling neceſſity deſtroys an obligation, by rendering a compliance with the general deſire unavoidable. I do not mean to inſinuate that force will ever be an auxiliary; but when men are under a juſt and a ſtrong impreſſion that their deſires are reaſonable, and their claims juſt, and influenced by a conviction that no fair arguments have been, or probably can be, ſtated againſt them, moderation will not, perhaps, always be attendant upon their councils.

With this reſtraint of the elective franchiſe, a great local hardſhip is combined, namely, that

* 6th of Geo. I. chap. 5.

a preference is given to Proteſtant farmers and tenants, merely to create a parliamentary intereſt, and to obtain voters. Is it neceſſary to dwell long upon that great political axiom, which benevolence ſuggeſts, that the tillers of the earth, whoſe induſtry feeds mankind, and who form the broad baſis of the pyramid of ſociety, ſhould be upon an equality, and enjoy ſimilar advantages and uniform privileges?

Internal danger cannot ariſe from men whoſe firſt and earneſt wiſh is to partake of the bleſſings of our happy Conſtitution; to acquire an intereſt in our preſent eſtabliſhment, who diſclaim connection with promoters of innovation and parliamentary reform, that *ignis fatuus* by which political adventurers and candidates for power have deluded the populace, and endeavoured to obtain the weather-gage of a temporary and tranſient popularity.

Nay, admitting that their principles are the ſame now as they were in 1641; that time, that ſcience, and philoſophy, have wrought no change in the principles of the Catholics, with what foreign power can they now combine to endanger the Conſtitution, or the eſtabliſhments in theſe countries? The claims of the Pretender ſleep in oblivion, the Papal power is only to be traced in the dreams of an amphibious enthuſiaſt, and is legible ſcarcely any where now, except on the penal code.

Arguments

Arguments of external danger, deduced from the example of the French Revolution, are juſt as broad as they are long. The conduct of a profligate faction, or of a deluded people, affords no reaſons for the adoption or rejection of a conſtitutional meaſure in theſe kingdoms.

I ſay, and I repeat it emphatically, of a conſtitutional meaſure:—this reſtraint of the elective franchiſe formed no part of the ſyſtem at the Revolution; it was a political excreſcence; it was deſigned perhaps as a counter ſecurity; but the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment exiſted near forty years before the reſtraining law was in queſtion. If the ſyſtem of the Revolution be our guide, let us revert to it as it originally ſtood, that till after that period the elective franchiſe was extended to all ranks and all claſſes, without any religious diſcrimination.

One, and only one, argument remains to be refuted; and it is the aſſertion, that the elective franchiſe will create an influence that muſt ſhortly operate againſt every law, and every impediment to their admiſſion into power, after the year 1798, the period of the next General Election.

But the anſwer to this aſſertion is not difficult. Moſt of the cities and boroughs in Ireland are formed of Corporations that re-elect themſelves, and keep up their own bodies: there are no Poor Laws in Ireland, conſequently no ſcot and

lot boroughs; I only know of the Borough of Swords, which is open to all the inhabitants, or what we call pot-boilers; but certainly there are very few of this deſcription: in the ten northern counties it is alſo certain that the Proteſtants and Diſſenters have a deciſive majority; conſequently, the great influence of the Catholics, ſo much magnified, which it is preſumed they would acquire by the elective franchiſe, will extend only to the remaining two and twenty counties; and, therefore, giving this argument of their opponents its full force, an influence over forty-four Members out of three hundred, may eventually overturn the eſtabliſhment, as the Lords and the Crown will hardly venture to oppoſe what is required by the repreſentatives of the people.

Thus it is that grave characters and reſpectable legiſlators amuſe their fancies with conjectures and remote contingencies, ſetting round the fire of perſecution, and cloſing their ranks, like the ſchool-boys in the Spectator, while they re-acted the legends of their grandmothers, and tales of apparitions, from Glanville upon Witches.

Let me aſk, laſtly, whether the date of this reſtraining Act be fairly ſtated? whether any reaſon has been aſſigned for its origin, ſave

ſave only what proceeded from private and intereſted motives? And if thoſe queſtions are anſwered, as I believe they muſt be, if theſe aſſertions will bear the teſt of inquiry, I may finally aſk, whether cutting off three-fifths of the electors was not an act of power and of tyranny, unprecedented in the annals of Parliament? And ſtating it thus hypothetically, I appeal to the common ſenſe of mankind, and to that great principle to which all human inquiries muſt ultimately reſult, that intuitive ſenſe of truth, which ſeems to be placed by Providence in the heart of man.

How far theſe truths may be acceptable to the powerful, is of little concern to me—a laſting and durable principle ought not to be ſacrificed at the altar of caprice. That man muſt be young, indeed, in this old world, and far leſs acquainted than I have been with the ill-timed ingratitude of Princes, the petty chicane and flimſy deceit of their favourites, to ſacrifice an eternal principle to ſuch deceitful, tranſitory, and momentary conſiderations.

Happy are thoſe who make this principle, the love of truth, and the conviction of general welfare, their Polar Star, to guide them through a political tempeſt, created to obſtruct

reaſonable

reaſonable deſires and moderate requiſitions, and to reſiſt pacifying meaſures by the artifices of the cunning monopoliſt of power, or by the ignorant enthuſiaſm of deluded men.

No. 13. SATURDAY, *October* 20, 1792.

Ubi ſolitudinem faciant, pacem appellant.

TACITUS.

IF I hazarded, in a former letter, an expreſſion that the preſent formidable combination, if it was perſevered in, would only ſerve to build a ſplendid mauſoleum for regal power in Europe, which has been noticed by your Correſpondent CASSANDRA, it was not an haſty opinion; nor can I conſider that I am juſtified merely by ſubſequent events, or right, by chance alone.

Fully apprized, by long and fatal experience, how much eaſier it is to delude than to undeceive mankind, I know well that it is a difficult and arduous enterprize to oppoſe favourite hopes, which have been adopted rather from a fond imagination than a ſound judgment.

That opinion was built upon the ſtrength of the French frontier; from the length of line upon which the Combined Armies muſt act; upon the vaſt equipages that muſt attend them, where the inhabitants were more hoſtile than even the army of Dumourier; the difficulties of ſupply, and the ſcarcity of forage, added to the uniform ſucceſs which has attended the French in their

attacks upon Auſtrian Flanders, ſince the days of Cardinal Richelieu.

If the force of Europe, combined by the ſagacity of Temple, in the Triple Alliance, acting defenſively, could hardly preſerve that country from Louis the XIVth, it cannot be forgotten that all the victories of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, the abilities of the greateſt Generals, the ſtrength of the moſt formidable countries, and all the victories of ten ſucceſsful campaigns, brought the Allies no farther than Landrecy, a fortreſs not above thirty miles diſtant from the Auſtrian frontiers.

If this was the caſe, under ſuch Generals, I do not ſee at this period, either in the combination of force, or in the abilities of the preſent Leaders, any reaſon that ſhould change or alter the advantages which they naturally poſſeſs. Laudohn is no more, and Prince Henry does not lead the Pruſſian army. If Frederic the Great conducted the arms of Brandenbourg to victory and glory, his confidential Miniſters, his literary friends, his executors, and his Generals, have given way to courtiers and viſionaries, and Pruſſia now is but the *magni nominis umbra.*

In whatever light we view the principles or conduct of the French Republicans, certain it is that they have had rapid and extenſive ſucceſs in their military enterprizes. Perhaps there is

ſome

ſome latent power in the human mind, called out by great revolutions, whoſe agency and power, like that of ſteam, is yet unknown, and its extent unexplored even by philoſophers. Something of this *impetus* exiſted after the extravagance and fanaticiſm of our civil wars; and Cardinal Mazarin, who experienced the effects, called Cromwell a fortunate madman.

In this great vortex of contending powers, happy is it for England that ſhe is not yet, nor will ſhe probably be involved, if the good ſenſe of the community ſhould have its due weight; we may lament the fate of the Royal ſufferers—we may regret that licentiouſneſs and anarchy prevail in a great country, where a rational government and well-adapted conſtitution might have beſtowed the bleſſings of freedom. Theſe political convulſions we may lament, like the earthquakes and convulſions of nature in Calabria; but we ſhould remember, that ruſhing into their aſſiſtance, in either caſe, would only add new victims to a great cataſtrophe: if hundreds have fallen in the ſtreets of Paris, thouſands of auxiliaries have periſhed in the deſert plains of Champagne.

Of all the Combined Powers there is only one, perhaps, who could wage a ſucceſsful war againſt

againſt France; and you will ſmile, when I name her—it is Spain: I do not mean by a military aggreſſion, but (if I may uſe the phraſe) by a commercial war; much of the French wealth and commerce depend upon that country; by forming commercial alliances with England, mutual and reciprocal advantages might be created; perhaps it might be the only certain method of preſerving her Tranſ-Atlantic colonies—thoſe colonies, the ſeparation of which forms a part of that ſyſtem, or *plan of conduct*, recommended, it is ſaid, to France, by a very able, extenſive, and enlightened traveller.*

Of the conſequences of the preſent war---of the probable events which may ariſe from the preſent German combination, I cannot preſume to ſay much: matters of ſuch political extent and magnitude, it may be well ſuppoſed, are beyond the reach of an humble and obſcure individual. It may be allowed to a well-wiſher to humanity, to pauſe upon the late fruitleſs devaſtation of the capital of French Flanders, and the fate of the inhabitants of Liſle; to deprecate the unneceſſary horrors of war; to hope that the allies will not

* General Miranda.

adopt

adopt that opinion which the Roman hiſtorian, in the motto to this Eſſay, aſcribes to their German anceſtors---that peace can be effected by deſolation.

No. 14.

No. 14. WEDNESDAY, *October* 31, 1792.

Natura paucos facit artifices, multos judices.

THE ſentence which I have adopted for a motto occurs ſomewhere in Mr. Locke's writings, though I now forget the place: it is a device upon a celebrated clock at Straſbourg. The great philoſopher applies it as an antidote to the vanity of criticiſm, ſince nature has been prodigal in the production of critics, and œconomical in the formation of artiſts.

Various have been the conjectures upon the late celebrated retreat of the Duke of Brunſwick, as military men can no longer conſider it as a great inſtance of generalſhip, or compare it with the retreat of the ten thouſand under Xenophon, who has deſcribed that expedition, which he himſelf principally conducted: they wiſh to regard it in another point of view, and conſider it as a diplomatic arrangement between Pruſſia and France.

Waving conſiderations which are ſo injurious to the good faith and fair dealing of that Prince, what has happened appears, when viewed through the ordinary medium of common-ſenſe and admitted maxims, to be the neceſſary

ceſſary reſult of the conduct of the leader of the Pruſſian army.

The late King of Pruſſia, in his Maxims, ſpeaking of the defects and advantages of his troops, ſays, that they require infinite attention from their commanders; and that it is particularly requiſite that they ſhould be better ſubſiſted than almoſt any other troops in Europe. But marching through a province proverbially ſterile, rich only in the production of grapes, which brought on a fatal dyſentery, was ſurely not conſonant to the conſtruction of that army, or to the rules of the great founder of that diſcipline.

It appears alſo extremely problematical that the Duke of Brunſwick, with the advantage of a river, and a fine vein of country all the way to Paris, through an abundant vale on the banks of the Marne, ſhould go to the right, and traverſe a country which had none of thoſe advantages, particularly that of a navigable ſtream. "Without the command of a river, (ſays Frederic the Great) there cannot be plenty in a camp."

In the Maxims before cited, the late King condemns winter campaigns; and juſtifies his conduct in this particular in the Sileſian war by neceſſity alone; and it is a remark well worthy of attention, that Frederic's campaigns about that period were commenced in the mid-

dle of winter, and not in the autumn—the period of the equinox, it is well known, being remarkably unfavourable to men, and ſtill more to horſes.

Having, therefore, conſidered this enterprize, and compared it with thoſe celebrated Maxims, I cannot help conſidering what has happened as the neceſſary reſult of a deviation from thoſe rules and the product of indiſcretion; and I ſhall conclude this article with the opinion of the late General Lloyd, author of the Pruſſian Military Syſtem, one of the greateſt writers upon tactics which this or, perhaps, any other country has produced.

"The Pruſſian army, being compoſed chiefly "of ſtrangers of different countries, manners, "and religion, are united only by the ſtrong "chain of military diſcipline; this, and a moſt "rigid attention to keep up all the forms and "eſtabliſhed diſcipline, conſtitutes a vaſt and "regular machine, which being animated by "the vigorous and powerful genius of their "leader, may be juſtly accounted one of the "moſt reſpectable armies in Europe; but "ſhould this ſpring languiſh for an inſtant "only, the machine itſelf, compoſed of ſuch "heterogeneous matter, would probably fall to "pieces, and leave nothing but the traces of "its former glory behind."

Having

Having learned, from the ſureſt guides, from practice and experience, that all military aggreſſion is fruitleſs---that the firſt troops and the moſt renowned generals now in Europe, can make no impreſſion nor create any alteration in the ſtate of France; it remains for us to offer a few conjectures upon the ſubject, to conſider in what light we ſhould view the French Revolution, and the confuſion and anarchy which prevail in that country.

Political ſtorms are generated in nations like tempeſts in the atmoſphere: the annihilation of government and of long-eſtabliſhed ſyſtems, produce violent exertions and powerful conteſts to fill up the vacancy which muſt neceſſarily enſue, by ſome other conſtitution. Thus philoſophers tell us, that winds and hurricanes are generated by the rarefaction of the atmoſphere, and the efforts of the cold and denſe air to replace it, to fill the vacuum, and to reſtore a due equilibrium.

This metaphor will bear a ſtrong and uſeful application; external efforts will only ſerve to increaſe the ferment; intellectual, like natural ſtorms, muſt take their courſe; the exertions of foreign nations to ſtop a violent internal commotion would be ſimilar to an attempt to bridle the tempeſt, or to arreſt the progreſs of the waves. The language of ſycophants and courtiers about the power of regal combinations and French

cruſades, to ſtop the preſent convulſion, ſhould be viewed and treated in the ſtyle and manner of Canute the Great, when he placed his throne on the ſea-coaſt, and rebuked the flattery of his courtiers.

This great event ſhould operate in other countries, by timely admonition, and induce a reformation of wanton waſte and idle diſſipation, in thoſe of high rank, a reform of real grievances and acknowledged abuſes; it ſhould create propriety in the conduct of the great; and give eaſe and contentment to the baſis of ſociety, to the great maſs and body of the people. Thus the parody may be ſtill continued: this political ſtorm may cleanſe the atmoſphere of many groſs vapours in the different Governments in Europe, and general good may be derived from a partial evil.

It was late in the reign of King William, in the Treaty of Ryſwick, and afterwards by the Partition Treaty, that a ſyſtem, or a humour, prevailed here, to form combinations to regulate regal ſucceſſions, and the internal arrangements and conſtitutions of other countries.

Upon this ſubject, a great diplomatic writer* makes a moſt ſagacious obſervation, that, inſtead of deſiring the guarantee of France, and of other countries, in 1697, for the Act of Settlement, it would have been wiſer, and far

* The Abbé Mably.

more becoming the dignity of England, to have inſerted an article in that Treaty, containing a condemnation of the interference of States in the internal affairs and domeſtic arrangements of their neighbours.

Of the real grievances of the State, happy is it for this country that few can be enumerated, none to which the Legiſlature cannot give a full and competent redreſs. Agriculture might be greatly increaſed by a fair equivalent for tythes, and the plough and the pulpit would be no longer at war; eaſe and comfort might be given to the people by remedies againſt monopolizers and foreſtallers; while the cauſes of poverty might be removed by a different mode of providing for the poor, and idleneſs might be checked, as in Holland, by houſes of induſtry.

By renewing the true and genuine ſyſtem of the Revolution—by repealing certain laws in 1707, 1727, and 1745—by granting the Elective Franchiſe to the bulk of the inhabitants of Ireland, confirmed to them by that great event, and which they were deprived of near forty years after that æra of civil and religious liberty, a large body of auxiliaries would be acquired in favour of the preſent Conſtitution; while all deſires and all combinations of ſects and parties for reforms and innovations in that kingdom would be reſtrained, and, perhaps, annihilated.

In a word, while only ſome few grievances ſhall be unredreſſed, the people of theſe kingdoms have too much good ſenſe not to ſee the ſchemes of Parliamentary Reformers in a juſt light, to view them as mere political manœuvres to obtain power, by getting the weather-gage of a deluſive and tranſitory popularity. While the Conſtitution is preſerved in its genuine vigour, no man, with a glimmering of political ſcience, can wiſh to introduce ſcenes of anarchy and confuſion in the place of order, of government, and of real freedom; the ſyſtem of a chimerical equality, for a ſyſtem of rational and juſt ſubordination; and the effort of any viſionary, who ſhould attempt to recommend it, would be conſidered, by the thinking part of the community, like the conduct of the traveller, who preſented a fragment of lava to a ſociety of antiquarians, hoping, by a chemical analyſis, to aſcertain its compoſition, that the principle might be propagated, and that we might have the advantage of volcanos and burning mountains in England.

No. 15. Thursday, *November* 29, 1792.

On doit tout faire *pour* le peuple, & rien *par* le peuple.

La Rochefaucauld.

If it was the wiſh and deſire of wiſe men in the laſt age to govern their conduct, and form their principles upon the experience of their predeceſſors, and to frame their governments upon the principles of ſcience and philoſophy, it appears to be the fancy of the preſent period to ſet experience totally aſide; to conſider the knowledge contained in books as mere lumber, and maxims approved by time as prejudices; to dazzle the populace with ſplendid novelties, and to confound the reaſoning of experienced politicians by the random ſpeculations of ignorant reformers.

It is true, every age has produced beings of this deſcription, who have had a tranſitory, a partial ſucceſs. Jacob Behmen was more enlightened than the moſt learned divines in one age; and the Hutchinſonians knew more of natural philoſophy than Newton in another; but the reign of thoſe mountebanks was but ſhort: in our days, their predominance ſeems to be more conſiderable, their deſigns more enlarged,

their influence more extenſive, and THE NEW IS TO REGENERATE THE OLD WORLD, under the auſpices of Mr. Paine.

Aware that ignorance would vent its ſpleen ſooner or later, againſt knowledge, the Romans allowed ſervants to indulge their fancy in a certain part of December, by ſarcaſms againſt their maſters. One of the greateſt wits of the Auguſtan age has preſerved one of theſe paſquinades againſt himſelf,* which, from the feſtival obſerved at that time, was called Saturnalia, in which every comment was tolerated that could be invented by licentiouſneſs.

The Saturnalia of Paine (for in this light I have always conſidered his Eſſays) have certainly much plauſibility, much novelty, and ingenuity, and conſequently entertainment; and, like thoſe paſquinades amongſt the ancients, there is ſome truth mixed with falſehood, as muſt be the caſe in every general ſatire, ſince no human character or inſtitution is exempted from blemiſhes and imperfections.

Of all the aſſertions which have lately appeared, which would appear to be only a ludicrous paradox, if it was not gravely inſiſted upon, the moſt extraordinary is this: that though we have laws, yet we have no conſtitution; that for ages we have been in an error; and

* Horace, Lib. II. Sat. 7.

that

that we have confounded our ſyſtem of laws with a conſtitution founded upon the ſuppoſed conſent of the people; but which cannot be proved to have ever been obtained in England.

To prove this paradox, it is ſaid, that the maſs or body of the people ſhould meet—poſſibly in Saliſbury Plain, or ſome other wide diſtrict—and preſcribe certain general rules for a legiſlature, and a mode of general repreſentation; without which neceſſary preliminary they are not governed by a ſyſtem of their own choice, which alone creates a conſtitution; and conſequently that they have not the advantage of the common club, or the moſt ordinary convivial ſociety.

Though I own I think the anſwer to this paradox is not difficult, yet I have not had the good fortune to ſee it fairly met and fully refuted; and if it had not been repeated, and gained proſelytes, poſſibly it would not be worthy of refutation.

But as this doctrine continues ſtill to make ſome way, through the aid of the French Revolutioniſts, I ſhall trouble you with ſome remarks upon the ancient ſtate of our Parliamentary repreſentation; hoping that it may lead our reformers to take the trouble of inquiring into the original diſpoſitions and arrangements of that edifice which they deſign to rebuild; that

that my conjectures on this ſubject may be ſuperſeded by better information; or that, if I am juſtifiable in my opinions, that they may not reſtrain that conſtitutional liberty which they profeſs to enlarge.

If we can diſcover in any country a ſyſtem of repreſentation, in which the great diſtricts were enjoined to ſend Members to a general Council of the State, while the ſub-diviſions, towns or boroughs, were deſired to ſend deputies at their diſcretion, as expedience ſhould require, or according to their ability to ſupport them; we ſhould pronounce, without heſitation, that a repreſentation, founded originally upon ſuch an unreſtrained conſent and free choice, was free in every ſenſe; and that imagination could not deviſe a ſyſtem where freedom and general liberty was more conſulted.

I ſay, and I repeat it emphatically, that if the people of England were to be convened on Saliſbury Plain, and if it were practicable to collect the ſenſe of ſuch an aſſembly, that a ſyſtem of Repreſentation could not be deviſed which had more the ſpirit of general freedom than that which enjoined the deputation of Members from each county, and from every ſmall diſtrict or collection of houſes in that county, as their circumſtances, prudence, or diſcretion ſhould require.

This aſſertion I ſhall aſſume as an admitted truth, and endeavour to apply it to the caſe of our Parliamentary repreſentation as it originally ſtood.

The firſt time that the boroughs were enjoined to ſend Members to Parliament, was in the year 1295, the twenty-third of Edward the Firſt, before which period the counties alone were repreſented.

The writ which was ſent to the Sheriff of Northamptonſhire, after the uſual preamble, enjoined him to ſend two knights from the county poſitively; two citizens from any city, and two burgeſſes from any borough that choſe to be repreſented in that diſtrict.

The words are, *Duos militus de quálibet civitate, ejuſdem comitatus, & duos Burgenſes de quolibet burgo*, &c. I am ſorry to take up a part of your valuable Paper by a verbal criticiſm; but the word *quolibet* may be fairly tranſlated, any city or borough that thinks proper to be repreſented, a ſenſe which may be ſtill farther proved by ſubſequent obſervations.

In the 26th year of Edward the Firſt, the Sheriff of Buckinghamſhire, after returning two knights for that county, anſwers to the writ, that there was no city or borough in that diſtrict who were able to ſend Members to Parliament.

And

And in the 30th of Edward the Third, the Sheriff of Lancaſhire, after the return of knights for that county, gives this reaſon why citizens and burgeſſes were not uſually ſent, nor ought to be ſummoned to Parliament; and that was on account of the towns of that diſtrict being too poor to pay their wages, and ſupport the expence of Parliamentary Repreſentatives.

I perceive that I have been inſenſibly led into a detail of precedents, which would exceed, if it was continued, the uſual bounds of theſe Eſſays. I ſhall content myſelf with this general aſſertion, that our Parliamentary Repreſentation was originally founded on common conſent---was continued by the general acquieſcence of the people---that counties were obliged to ſend Members; and the cities and boroughs at their own diſcretion, according to their own uſages, and local charters or conſtitutions; and for the truth of this aſſertion, I appeal to one of our ableſt writers on this ſubject,* a treatiſe of acknowledged ability, and I accompany this obſervation with a reference.

If, then, it be true, that our Repreſentation was founded upon common conſent, and the free choice of the people, to ſend Repreſentatives in their own way to Parliament, I cannot conceive that dividing the country into ſquares,

* Hiſtory of Boroughs, by Dr. Brady, p. 54.

or

or acres, or circles, or new-modelling the elections of boroughs, by certain mathematical proportions, borrowed from French geography, can add any thing to our conſtitutional freedom, ſince nothing can be more free than general conſent and common choice---whether a reform be of American or French manufacture, whether it proceeds from the Miniſter or from an Oppoſitioniſt---from a Legiſlator or an Empiric---a Gaſcoigne or a Hotſpur; certain it is, that a reform coming from any of thoſe quarters would be a ſubſtitution of the opinions of a foreign nation, or the imaginations of individuals in the place of a ſyſtem which has been originally choſen, and continued by the ſanction of the people of England.

No. 16. TUESDAY, *December* 4, 1792.

On doit tout faire *pour* le peuple, & rien *par* le peuple.

LA ROCHEFAUCAULD.

WHY the counties of England are unequal, what the original reaſon of this unequal diviſion was, probably cannot now be traced, no more than the cauſes of the different provincial dialects which prevail in this kingdom: poſſibly they aroſe from the limits and ſubdiviſions of the Heptarchy; and men that have been uſed to particular cuſtoms find it to be their intereſt to remain under the ſame combinations. The ſame rule may be applied to ſmaller diſtricts, towns, or boroughs, whoſe modes of election cannot now be altered without a violation of uſages, which, by a length of time, have given into rights and privileges.

I cannot conceive that any wiſe country would take away any rights or privileges upon a preconception or prejudice that men under particular deſcriptions would violate their truſt; it will be time enough to diſfranchiſe when malverſation is actually proved; and here let it be remembered that there is a principle of reform actually exiſting in this country, wiſe, juſt, and gradual

gradual—I mean the principle of extending the right of election where boroughs have been proved guilty of notorious corruption: ſuch a principle, I believe, obtained ſoon after the Revolution in the caſe of one borough; and in our own days, in the caſe of Shoreham and of Cricklade.

But I own, I think ſome regulations might now be adopted, which would not injure, but reſtore our invaluable Conſtitution to its primitive excellence and genuine purity, though they would not anſwer the purpoſes of political malcontents and Gallic levellers.

The firſt would be that of regiſters, of aſcertaining the rights of election, and rendering conteſts leſs expenſive by concurrent polls in populous, or polls in different parts of extended diſtricts; under which head the caſe of Weſtminſter is moſt conſpicuous, where the parochial regiſters have not as yet a legal ſanction, to anſwer the purpoſe of a fair evidence and juſt criterion to decide the rights of election.

Before the enlargement of the number of Repreſentatives is brought into debate, it ſeems natural to enforce the attendance of the exiſting Members, as in ancient times, by fines, or other coercive methods; but the ſhorteſt rule to carry this point might poſſibly be to enlarge the quorum which makes a Houſe, from forty to two hundred.

The

The burthen of public buſineſs might be more equally ſhared between the two Houſes, and the Ariſtocracy might derive a degree of credit, by originating certain bills, which, from the aid of the Judges, comes more within their ſphere; and public conſequence might be thus gained from the utility of their exertions, which cannot ever be obtained by a *vis inertiæ*.

If the great manufacturing towns, as Leeds, Sheffield, or Birmingham, &c. ſhould deſire it, (which might or might not be the caſe) I own I think they ought to be enabled to ſend Repreſentatives to Parliament, to ſuperintend their intereſts; it would certainly be agreeable to the principles of the Conſtitution; and I believe Durham was thus enabled to ſend Members, by an Act of Parliament, in the middle of the laſt century.

But whatever is, or may be, in contemplation, I muſt deprecate, with every good member of ſociety, plans of government or of repreſentation from France; even if erroneous opinions and abſurd prejudices ſhould predominate. I ſhould remind the people that we had errors of our own, and that we need not have recourſe to thoſe of French manufacture; better aſſuredly, and more plauſible, at leaſt, are the projects of Cromwell, or the dreams of Harrington, than thoſe of our light-headed and frivolous neighbours.

Let

Let me aſk whether any ſyſtem of government can be more romantic or extravagant, or any repreſentation more wild, than that where the governed one day may be the governors of the next; where the whole Parliament is ineligible after two years, and where inexperience is thus ſyſtematically eſtabliſhed.

Let me aſk of the electors of this metropolis, whether they would chuſe to be on the footing of thoſe of Paris, where they have ſeventy-two ballots for polls, in the courſe of two years, for Members of Parliament alone, without reckoning thoſe for Mayors, Juſtices, Curates, Biſhops, &c.!

This may appear to be an extravagant aſſertion, to thoſe who have not viſited that capital, but the proof is not difficult; for Paris, there are twenty-four Members---they ballot for only one at a time, in a church; as every elector may propoſe a candidate, they have a ſecond, and then a third ballot, to bring to an iſſue between A. and B. who have the greateſt number of ſuffrages in the firſt ballot; ſo that the electors of Paris, who have no recompenſe, nor even refreſhment, for their trouble, are continually taken up, and conſtantly occupied in elections.

No. 17. FRIDAY, *December* 7, 1792.

On doit tout faire *pour* le peuple, & rien *par* le peuple.
LA ROCHEFAUCAULD.

THE ſchemes of Parliamentary Reform in Ireland might be effectually checked by extending the Elective Franchiſe to the bulk of the inhabitants of that country. Having troubled you with three letters in September, upon the claims of the Iriſh Catholics, I ſhall dwell no longer upon a ſubject which is now well underſtood. They certainly have gained a victory, by cloſing with their opponents upon their own ground. The Grand Juries in Ireland ſay, ſupport the ſyſtem eſtabliſhed at the Revolution. The Catholics may well hold the ſame language, ſince they were Jurors and Electors not only in 1692, the date of the firſt Iriſh Parliament in the reign of King William, but for many years after that period. To grant the Catholics what they have petitioned for, would be to revert to the ſyſtem of the Revolution.

I do not indiſcriminately condemn the new conſtitution in France, with fiery zealots of Toryiſm in this country, who have written upon meaſures which they never experienced, and upon

upon effects which they never ſaw; nay more, in one moſt important reform, I think they have ſurpaſſed this country. I mean in the article of general arbitration extending to all caſes, by which litigations are prevented, and law-ſuits will be reduced, perhaps, to a fifth part of the uſual number, let intereſted chicanery ſay what it will upon the glorious uncertainty of the law.

Common feeling and common ſenſe will decide that law-ſuits and lawyers are the greateſt grievances in this country; their tedioufneſs has long been, and juſtly, complained of; and if authority is wanting, the Parliamentary labours of Lord Somers are the beſt comments upon this ſubject.

But I perceive I have unwarily digreſſed; all that I wiſh to dwell upon is, to deprecate ſchemes of Parliamentary Reform adopted from France. Before I have done, let me advert to that argument of which Reformiſts have been, and are, ſo very tenacious, namely, that we have no Conſtitution in this country. It has happened to many, I make no doubt, as well as myſelf, in the courſe of common converſation at Paris, and even in this country, to hear this doctrine gravely aſſerted. The mode of carrying on the argument is pleaſant, and its deſcription may, perhaps, enliven a grave ſubject.

The outlines of the French Conſtitution have been publiſhed in a little book, which is ſold for three-pence. This they conſider as the original compact; and the friends of that ſyſtem, and of its adoption in this country, generally produce this little work, in the courſe of their arguments, and aſk whether we can ſhew ſuch an original compact, or Conſtitution? If it ſhould be replied, that our Conſtitution is to be traced in the Statute Book, or in Blackſtone, &c. they reply, by admitting that we have laws, but that we cannot prove that we had a compact founded on general conſent, ſimilar to theirs, which ſhould have preceded our laws.

Now as this paradox, however whimſical, has certainly gained proſelytes, I ſhould propoſe, through the medium of your valuable Paper, that it ſhould be met in their own way.

I ſhould wiſh that an abſtract of the leading principles of our Conſtitution, ſhould be drawn up in a ſhort and eaſy manner, and rendered familiar for the uſe of children. This might be rendered cheap, and diſperſed like the cheap edition of the French Conſtitution: and thus one childiſh argument might be met by another.

Dr. Truſler's abridgments of many uſeful works furniſh plans for ſuch a ſketch of epitome: few writers deſerve conſideration and preferment more than this gentleman does, if the diſſemination of uſeful knowledge be meritorious;

ous; and he would thus add one to the many ſervices he has rendered to the public and to the riſing generation.

To conclude, the maxim of a great French Patriot, an admired writer, and a ſagacious philoſopher, which has been choſen as a motto to this Eſſay, has been neglected by that nation: happy would it have been for France, had the ruling Powers done every thing to ſerve the people, without uſing them as an inſtrument to effect a Revolution, and bribing them to their own deſtruction; inſtead of diſcharging their debts, which they might have effected by the ſale of the church lands, they have increaſed the national incumbrance; quieted the people by a temporary ſuſpenſion of taxes, and amuſed them with metaphyſical and impracticable ſyſtems of Government.

The ſum and ſubſtance of what I ſhould be happy to convey to the people is this: that we have a Conſtitution; that that ſyſtem is moſt invaluable, becauſe it is founded originally on general conſent, and is guaranteed by continued acquieſcence; and if, to follow the imagination of ſpeculative theoriſts, the body of the people were aſſembled in a great plain, the Chief, or Preſident, of ſuch an aſſembly, (call him by what title you pleaſe) could not make a propoſition more conſonant to the general wiſh, or agreeable to genuine liberty, than that the great

diſtricts ſhould ſend Members to Parliament, and the ſmaller ones ſhould be repreſented alſo, if they thought proper, in their own way, and according to their own choice, cuſtoms, and uſages.

In a word, the preſervation of our Conſtitution in its original purity, is the true reform, and the moſt conſonant to juſt, rational, and comprehenſive ideas of liberty. So well-founded was that eulogium which Algernon Sydney aſcribed to one of the greateſt of our monarchs, in his laſt moments—"That he left the Engliſh Conſtitution as he had found it, free as the internal thoughts of a man."

No. 18. MONDAY, *January* 7, 1793.

Tros Tyriuſve mihi, nullo diſcrimine habetur.

VIRGIL.

I HAVE lately obſerved, with much pleaſure, ſome detached articles, relative to the requeſts of the Iriſh Catholics, in your valuable Paper; but as they are briefly, and, therefore, rather obſcurely expreſſed, I ſhall trouble you with ſome remarks, in addition to thoſe Eſſays upon the ſubject in the month of September; and upon a Parliamentary Reform juſt before the meeting of a Great Aſſembly. I ſhall labour to be brief, and endeavour to confine myſelf to one conſideration, the relative ſituation of the Catholic voters in England and in Ireland.

In England, by a law paſſed about the year 1696, the oaths of allegiance, of abjuration, and of ſupremacy, may be tendered to all perſons who offer to vote at elections, on penalty of rejection. Theſe preſcriptions are repeated and enforced in a variety of laws, too numerous to recite; but it is to be obſerved, that the declaration made and ſigned by Members of Parliament in both kingdoms, when they take

their ſeats, is not enjoined to be taken in any of thoſe laws by voters at elections.

By a law paſſed in the firſt Iriſh Parliament after the Hanover Succeſſion, in 1716, Papiſts who ſhall vote are required to take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration ſix months before, or at the election, if required, under a penalty of 100l. recoverable upon a *Qui Tam* action, if they ſhould vote contrary to the preſcriptions of this law.

Thus the regulations about Papiſt-voters ſtood in both kingdoms originally; by which it appears, that they were, till near forty years after the Revolution, nearly ſimilar: I think even before the Reformation it might be proved that many Catholics did, and could, conſiſtently with their tenets and principles, take the oaths againſt the Pope's ſupremacy; but that inquiry would exceed the bounds of this Eſſay.

It will be ſufficient for my purpoſe to aſſert, that if Catholics would take the oaths of allegiance, of abjuration, and ſupremacy, they might vote in England; and that till the year 1727 it was ſufficient to take them in the manner above recited in Ireland, in order to enable them to vote at elections, with the exception of the oath of ſupremacy, which laſt made the eſſential difference in the qualification of voters in the two kingdoms.

Thus

Thus I have laboured to prove that the ſituation of the Roman Catholics was originally ſimilar in theſe kingdoms: I ſhall, therefore, aſſume theſe premiſes as conceded, and build this ſubſequent argument upon them, that a compliance with the requeſt of the Catholics in Ireland, viz. a repeal of the reſtrictions ſince 1727, would put them upon the ſame ſituation nearly in England and in Ireland.

The two clauſes which they have requeſted to be repealed was a law in 1727, containing a general prohibition of Catholics voting for Members of Parliament, and certain words which were added to the Freeholders oath in 1745, by which voters were to ſwear, "That they were neither Papiſts nor married to Papiſts, nor did they educate their children as ſuch."

If, therefore, theſe prohibitions were removed, they would then vote, taking the oaths preſcribed by the law in 1716, which was only farther enforced, but not altered, and ſtill remains upon the Statute Book; but the preſcriptions of that law were nearly ſimilar to thoſe relative to Catholic voters at the time of the Revolution in England, which are ſtill in force; and, therefore, it follows, as a neceſſary precaution, that voters of that perſuaſion would then be in a ſimilar ſituation nearly in England and in Ireland.

A farther

A farther advantage would ariſe from the Catholics voting under the law in 1716; that their taking the oaths ſix months before the election would operate as a regiſter of voters of that perſuaſion; and if it ſhould be extended, or, in plainer terms, if all perſons were enjoined to qualify in the ſame manner, it would operate as a general regiſtry of all the electors in the kingdom; a meaſure ſo often recommended, ſo neceſſary and uſeful, but which, from a want of due notoriety, or promulgation of the laws, has hitherto been unſucceſsful.

It would be ſuperfluous to dwell upon the obvious advantages of this conceſſion; the important conſequences of obtaining the majority of the inhabitants of Ireland as auxiliaries to the preſent ſyſtem, eſtabliſhed at the Revolution; to take bail and ſolemn engagements of their fidelity to the Crown and the Conſtitution.

Thus I have laboured, in the courſe of theſe Eſſays, to throw every light upon this ſubject, aware that juſt minds will ever draw fair concluſions from ſtatements faithfully ſubmitted to their inſpection, where laborious inveſtigation is directed by candour and by truth.

Nor do I repent of my induſtry, having ever found thoſe of that perſuaſion to be honourable, and conſequently grateful—Virtues which, it is too true, I have not diſcovered in thoſe who occupy primary and more illuſtrious ſituations.

But the preſent period affords more uſeful leſſons than any which can occur to an obſcure individual; every day produces events which engage the general attention—events which concern thoſe principally who are in the higheſt ſituations, ſince the tempeſt ſpares the humble ſhrub, but levels the pride of the foreſt,

No. 19. TUESDAY, *January* 22, 1793.

Solum & cœlum in HIBERNIA, haud multum à BRITANNIA differt, melius aditus, portuſque per negociatores cogniti.

TACITUS.

AS few undertakings have anſwered better, in all reſpects, than the packets between Milford Haven and Waterford, I trouble you with ſome remarks upon that ſubject, as the communication with the ſouth of Ireland is ſtill capable of great improvements.

To facilitate and ſhorten the correſpondence between Waterford and Cork, a bridge would be neceſſary over the Suir at the former place; this, from the depth and breadth of that river, which are ſimilar to that of the Thames at Black-friars, has been regarded, till lately, as a chimerical project; but ſubſcriptions, to a conſiderable amount, have been recently made for this purpoſe. Poſſibly the erection of a bridge upon the common plan might be impracticable, though one projected upon the ſcheme of the famous bridge of boats at Rouen, or of the wooden bridge at Derry,* in both which places

* The bridge at Londonderry was built by an American projector, for 10,000l.—the timber was brought from Boſton.

the

the rivers are far more conſiderable, might anſwer; or the ſubſtitution of one of thoſe machines, in the place of the preſent very inconvenient ferry-boats which are uſed on the Rhine, and which tranſport the largeſt waggons at Weſel, Cologne, and Coblentz, and other parts of Germany.

The communication between Waterford and Cork might be ſhortened near thirty Engliſh miles, by making a new road from Mullinevat to Nine-mile Houſe, on the great north and ſouth road between Cork and Dublin. This might be effected by the judicious expenditure of twelve or fourteen hundred pounds at the utmoſt, as materials are excellent and commodious, and a mail-coach might be eſtabliſhed on this road, inſtead of making a circuitous courſe by Kilkenny, and ſave above half a day's journey between Cork and Waterford.

Thus a direct communication would be opened between this capital and the principal town in the ſouth of Ireland, the great emporium of the proviſion trade, of great conſequence at all times, but particularly in war, where the navigation would not be interrupted by bars, or tide-harbours, nor the roads in South Wales, or in Ireland, rendered incommodious by ferries, or by a mountainous country, as is the caſe in the journey to Dublin, through North Wales.

This

This obſervation, however, applies to a direct communication through Glouceſter and Roſs to Milford. Why the mail-coach at preſent croſſes the Severn, at a very inconvenient ferry at the paſſage near Briſtol, I could never diſcover; but ſuppoſe it to be owing to ſome private job, or ſome particular and ſelfiſh, or mere local convenience.

The exertions of the gentlemen in South Wales will, probably, ſoon complete the road, and improve the inns in the communication through Glouceſter to Milford; and it will certainly amply recompenſe all the trouble and expenſe attendant upon this undertaking.

The roads in thoſe diſtricts, as well as the turnpikes all over England, are, however, capable of great improvement; whenever carriages ſhall be conſtructed upon true mathematical principles, and contrived ſo as to meliorate and to benefit, and not to injure the roads, which is far from being the caſe at preſent in England, and ſtill leſs in Ireland; and I have often heard, from able and ſcientific men, what I am inclined to believe to be true, that our ſyſtems of turnpike and road laws, with regard to waggons and ſtage-coaches, were formed upon erroneous principles; licenſing carriages which injured the roads, by limiting the weight of thoſe with broad wheels, which were intended for their preſervation.

But this conſideration might extend too far; ſuffice it to obſerve briefly, that the dimenſions of all carriages, their height, breadth, and proportion, and of their wheels or rollers alſo, the elevation or angle of the draft, the beſt conſtruction for the preſervation of the roads, the moſt advantageous mode of harneſſing horſes, &c. are all capable of being aſcertained, with that preciſion, certainty, and accuracy, which we ſearch in vain in other ſciences; but which are to be obtained only by experiments on models of carriages, and by calculations grounded upon the application of mathematical principles.

To conclude, the obſervation of the Roman hiſtorian, the motto of this Eſſay, that the climate and ſoil of England and of Ireland were ſimilar, but that the harbours of the latter were better, applies more particularly to the ports of Cork and Waterford; by judicious arrangements, by facility of communication, their advantages may be reciprocally beneficial; and London will become eventually the center of intelligence, of correſpondence, and of exchange, and, in a word, the capital of the ſouth of Ireland.

No. 20. SATURDAY, *January* 26, 1793.

——— Extrema per illos
Juſtitia excedens terris, veſtigia fecit.

VIRGIL.

HAVING lately read, with much pleaſure, a vindication of the conduct and principles of the Iriſh Catholics, I ſhall trouble you with a ſhort abſtract of an authentic document, to which they have referred in their petition to the Throne, but which they have not given among the proofs in their Appendix.

After ſtating the reſolutions of ſeveral Grand Juries and County Meetings, particularly thoſe of Limerick, where a great Law Officer appeared in perſon to countenance that Aſſociation, and of Louth, where the firſt Commoner in Ireland preſided, they proceed to deſcribe their ancient rights, as they were eſtabliſhed in 1691, by the Treaty of Limerick.

It were to be wiſhed they had publiſhed this Treaty in their compilation, which conſiſts of thirteen articles. As it is now a ſcarce document, of the exiſtence and ratification of which, as well as of its extent, ſome perſons have even entertained doubts. As much may turn hereafter

after upon that Treaty, I ſhall trouble you with an abſtract of it as it is recorded by Dr. Leland.

Firſt. The Roman Catholics of Ireland ſhall enjoy ſuch privileges in the exerciſe of their religion as are conſiſtent with the laws of Ireland, or as they enjoyed in the reign of King Charles the Second; and their Majeſties, as ſoon as their affairs will permit, ſhall ſummon a Parliament in this kingdom, and will endeavour to procure for them ſuch farther ſecurity in that Parliament as may preſerve them from diſturbance on account of religion.

Secondly. The inhabitants of Limerick, commiſſioned by King James, who ſhall ſubmit and take the oath of allegiance eſtabliſhed in England in 1689, ſhall enjoy their properties as in the days of King Charles the Second.

The third and fourth articles compriſe merchants of the town, and four officers of the town, who were abſent.

The fifth and ſixth articles grant a general amneſty, and annul law-ſuits on account of the war.

By the ſeventh article, thoſe who are compriſed in this Treaty may ride with ſwords and piſtols, and have arms in their houſes for ſporting and protection; and by the eighth article, the inhabitants of Limerick may remove their goods, paying legal cuſtoms, &c.

The ninth article is very important; it enjoins that the oath eſtabliſhed in England in 1689, ſhall be adminiſtered to the Catholics, and no other; and by the tenth article, perſons who break this convention ſhall not injure thoſe who obſerve it.

By the eleventh and twelfth articles, the Lords Juſtices promiſe their endeavours to obtain a ſecurity from arreſts for perſons concerned during eight months, and a ratification from their Majeſties within that period.

The laſt article relates to certain debts and engagements of Colonel Brown and Lord Lucan, and is altogether of a private nature.

This is a faithful abridgment of this celebrated Treaty, which was ſigned by three on the part of the King, and on the part of the Catholics by ſeven commiſſioners; it was witneſſed alſo by King William's Generals, who commanded at that ſiege, and ratified in about a month, under the great ſeals of England and Ireland, in the uſual form.

It is not my deſign to enter into many ſubſequent infractions of this Treaty, which was, ſome years afterwards, narrowed and circumſcribed, inſtead of being extended or ſtrengthened by the authority of Parliament, nor to enter into reſtraints and innovations which took place at a late period about Juries, and the exerciſe of the Elective Franchiſe, nor to repeat arguments

arguments and ſtatements which are now ſo well known.

By this Treaty, Catholics were entitled to all privileges, in common with other ſubjects of Ireland, ſave only that of ſitting in Parliament—a reſtraint which depended upon tranſactions antecedent to the Revolution, the relation of which cannot be comprized within the bounds of this Eſſay: it is only mentioned here, as it naturally leads to a contemporary comment upon the ſpirit and meaning of this Treaty by the firſt aſſembly in this country.

It may appear extraordinary, at firſt ſight, that the garriſon of Limerick ſhould make ſtipulations for all the Catholics of Ireland; but the hiſtory of that period, as well as the preamble of that Treaty, inform us that it was made in behalf of the inhabitants of ſix counties, viz. Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligo, Mayo, and Limerick, that the Government wiſhed to cloſe the war, leſt it ſhould be protracted like Tyrone's rebellion, in the reign of Elizabeth, by more powerful foreign aid, by the arms of Louis the Fourteenth. This Treaty was, therefore, ſigned on the 3d of October, 1691: in conſequence of it, not only the garriſon of Limerick, but alſo the Popiſh inhabitants of Ireland, laid down their arms; and the following tranſaction, ſoon after, ſhews the true meaning of this Treaty; the general and ex-

tenſive conſtruction which was given to it by the Lords of England.

Previous to the calling of an Iriſh Parliament, it was thought expedient to paſs a law in the Engliſh Legiſlature, ordaining certain oaths to be taken by Iriſh Members, which has ever ſince been a neceſſary qualification; this law having extended theſe oaths to Barriſters in Ireland, the Lords amended the Bill,* by leaving out that clauſe, conſidering it to be contrary to the Treaty of Limerick, which preſcribed only a ſhort oath to be generally adminiſtered to all ſubjects, in the firſt year after the Revolution.

It would be unneceſſary to dwell upon this tranſaction, farther than to mark the opinion of that body of the value and extent of this Treaty; neither have I room here to enlarge upon this ſubject, or upon the plauſible reaſon of a great Lawyer, which, it is ſaid, prevailed upon them to relinquiſh their amendment. This circumſtance was not mentioned in the debate laſt Seſſion, though the admiſſion of Catholics to the Iriſh bar was reſtoring them to a right of which they had been unjuſtly deprived at this period, according to the opinion in 1691 of the Houſe of Lords of England.

To conclude, the good faith, the regard to the honour of their Sovereign—of the Govern-

* Nov. 16, 1691. Lords Journals, v. xiv. p. 646.

ment

ment—of the Engliſh nation, which was manifeſted by the Lords at that period, reflects the greateſt honour upon that body. The reference with which I accompany this relation is, perhaps, the moſt brilliant page in their voluminous records; and that eulogium which the Roman Poet beſtows upon a country life in the primitive ages, may, with a ſtrict regard to truth, be applied, upon this tranſaction, to the conduct of that Aſſembly.

No. 21. MONDAY, *February* 4, 1793.

Hæ tibi erunt artes! paciſque imponere morem,
Parcere ſubjectis, & debellare ſuperbos.

VIRGIL.

OF the hardſhips of which the Roman Catholics have complained, in their late petition to the Throne, thoſe which relate to the Elective Franchiſe, to Juries, to Corporations, to foundations of ſchools, to admiſſion into colleges, and to the army and navy, are admitted to be exiſting reſtraints and prohibitions.

The other allegations, relative to uſing arms, and the diſabilities that parents are ſubjected to, whoſe children are converts from Popery, under a law of the 2d of Queen Anne, are ſaid to be erroneous; nay more, in a late publication, which is entitled the Subſtance of a Speech of a Noble and Learned Lord high in office in Ireland, they are ſaid to be ſtrong and decided miſrepreſentations; upon which I ſhall trouble you with a few remarks.

Touching the firſt, it is certain that the grievance complained of has been done away by a partial repeal of the Act of the 2d of Queen Anne, in 1780; but as this repeal forms only a part, a clauſe in a long Act of Parliament, the

miſtake might have been made even by well-informed men; and every miſtake cannot be conſtrued into a wilful miſrepreſentation.

As to the laſt allegation, it cannot be denied that the laws of King William, reſtraining the Catholics from the uſe of arms, are ſtill exiſting, though ſeldom put in execution; that they were brought into action in 1776, for four years; and that they were revived again in 1784, in conſequence of ſome local diſturbances; but ſurely the charge is rather hard, to ſay that they had miſrepreſented facts, merely becauſe they have not ſtated in their petition the interval between the ſaid periods when theſe laws, or rather their execution, were dormant.

The bulk of their petition, ſix or ſeven of the moſt eſſential parts of their allegations, out of eight, being proved, it will ſcarcely juſtify a charge of a wilful miſrepreſentation of facts. Errors in trifles can ſcarcely be conſidered as falſifications. When in long details, and ſtatements which depend upon a ſucceſſion of laws, repealing or enforcing preceding, by ſubſequent Acts of Parliament, even the moſt able profeſſional men are ſometimes liable to miſtakes, of which proofs may be given even in the pamphlet in queſtion.

The Act of Supremacy is there quoted as enacted in the 27th of Elizabeth; but one

glance of the eye upon the Iriſh Statute Book* will decide that only two laws paſſed in that Seſſion relative to attainders.

The Act of Uniformity, which paſſed in Ireland in 1665, is a tranſcript from the Engliſh Acts of the 14th and 15th of Charles II. chap. 4, which law, according to Biſhop Burnet, related ſolely to the Diſſenters; nor did I ever hear, till I read it in this publication, that it contained a prohibition of the celebration of Maſs. Certain it is, that no words to that effect are contained in that law, as will be evident to thoſe who trace this matter from the following reference.†

This law, however, and the obligation on the Catholics to take the oath of ſupremacy, are adduced in this pamphlet, to prove that they were under more reſtraints now than in the reign of the ſecond Charles.

But this opinion cannot be admitted, even by men who have a ſlight knowledge of our Parliamentary Hiſtory. The Act of Supremacy, in both kingdoms, originated from Henry the Eighth's diſpute with the Pope, and his ſeparation from him on account of his divorce: it was revived in the firſt Parliaments of Elizabeth, in both kingdoms, it is true; but originally it ex-

* Iriſh Statutes, Vol. I. p. 391.

† ——————Vol. III. p. 139.

iſted

iſted when the whole country were Catholics: nay more, if we look farther back, the interference of the Pope in our Eccleſiaſtical affairs was reſiſted from the earlieſt period, from the Statute of Premunire, in the days of Richard the Second. To reſtrain thoſe uſurpations ſtill more, the Act of Supremacy was framed; and I hope it will not be thought a diſtinction without a difference, when I aſſert, that if our Legiſlators were Roman Catholics in the reign of Henry the Eighth, yet they were not Papiſts.

The limited ſenſe which is applied in this publication to the Treaty of Limerick, is argued with great candour and ability; though it differs materially from the opinion of the Lords of England upon this ſubject, the 16th of November, 1691. Both thoſe conſtructions are now before the public, and they will pronounce which of the two opinions are beſt founded.

So much for this publication: unwilling to treſpaſs any longer upon public attention, or to take up a larger ſpace in your valuable Paper, I ſhall conclude with one ſhort valedictory remark.

The deſign of reſtoring to Iriſh Catholics the rights of voting for Members of Parliament, and of admiſſion to Juries, was worthy of

of a late liberal and princely recommendation.

It is to be hoped that thoſe who act upon ſuch wiſe and conſummate policy will accompliſh the work, nor be diverted from their noble plan by the tenacity of haſty and premature deciſion on the one hand, nor by the manœuvre of ſtarting queſtions upon Parliamentary Reform, on the other.

Recent events, which make thinking men reflect with horror upon innovations, under the deceitful maſk of reforms, recommend the reſtoration of ancient privileges:—the Catholics may, by this meaſure, become faithful auxiliaries, regiſtered aſſociates in defence of our valuable Conſtitution, and be ſevered and divided from Innovators and Reformers, from Levellers and Diſſenters.

Foreign connections no longer interfere; upon their own principles they muſt approve of a limited monarchy. Have they common ſenſe, have they eyes, they muſt be convinced that their brethren have been the principal victims of French anarchy and equality.

The Government of England were, in 1691, ſtill more in 1703, averſe to rigorous laws againſt the Iriſh Catholics. For the firſt, we have the authority of the Houſe of Lords—for the ſecond act, we have the teſtimony of Biſhop Burnet

Burnet. This meaſure is founded upon the wiſeſt councils, and traced from the beſt of times; ſo ſhall its advocates revert to the liberal, enlarged principles of the Revolution, and thus ſhall they tread in the ſteps of their anceſtors.

No. 22.

No. 22. THURSDAY, *February* 21, 1793.

Omne conſilium Pompei Themiſtocleum eſt: exiſtimat enim, qui mare habet, rerum potiri.

CICERO AD ATTICUM.

IN whatever light we conſider war, whether it be offenſive or defenſive, commenced from the hope of conqueſt, or the neceſſity of ſelf-preſervation, it muſt be regarded, by contemplative minds, as a great evil. In modern wars, the preſent age feel burthens, which are entailed upon poſterity. The ultimate argument of kings is the principal ſcourge of the people.

Happily for this country, our inſular ſituation, thoſe boundaries which Providence has aſſigned, and Nature has preſcribed to theſe iſlands, exempt us from many of thoſe martial evils which are ſeverely felt by continental nations. Our defence muſt depend principally upon our naval ſtrength; the augmentation of our land forces ſhould ever be a ſecondary conſideration.

In the preſent ſituation of England, thoſe reflections muſt eminently apply to our hoſtile preparations. Suppoſing that we have at length opened our eyes, and ſeen the many evils attendant upon belligerent treaties and continental connections, more particularly after the cruſade

of

of laſt ſummer, under the Duke of Brunſwick, I am the more inclined to hope that the united wiſdom of this country will prevent ſome of thoſe evils from which we were not exempt in the ſeven years war, even under the glorious auſpices of Lord Chatham, in the German campaigns.

For theſe reaſons, every friend of his country muſt deprecate augmentations of our land forces, diſproportionate to our naval preparations; and ſtill more, the mode which has been too much and too often in contemplation, of raiſing new corps and independent companies, in preference to increaſing the exiſting eſtabliſhment and the old regiments—arrangements which are too often mere military jobbs, by which cadets get rank without toil or labour; learn only to play at leap-frog, thus to vault over the heads of veteran officers, and ſuperſede long, hard, and meritorious ſervices.

The invaſion of this country by France has been conſidered, in the admirable production of one of our firſt military writers,* lately re-publiſhed, as a moſt romantic enterprize, almoſt impracticable in all conjunctures, a downright chimera, while England preſerves her naval ſuperiority.

* General Lloyd.

This

This conſideration ſhould lead us to ſuppoſe that a leſs portion of land forces would anſwer every purpoſe of defence, if our naval ſtrength was duly augmented. It is a maxim that can never be too often repeated, that the greater part of the ſtanding armies of Great Britain and Ireland ſhould be amphibious, or, in other words, compoſed principally of marines; a maxim which derives new weight from the tendency of the preſent war to continental connections, land armament and enterprizes againſt France, ſimilar to thoſe of laſt ſummer, which ſerved only to fan and not to extinguiſh the fire, to increaſe and not to counteract the internal convulſions in that country.

That I may not dwell altogether upon general aſſertions, permit me to obſerve, that by the eſtabliſhment of a militia of five hundred men in each county in Ireland, and the addition of five thouſand to the fifteen thouſand troops which that kingdom pays at preſent, Ireland will have made more than double the exertion than in any antecedent war; though the means of providing for this augmentation, the product of a haſty deciſion, will, I believe, puzzle thoſe who are beſt acquainted with the finances and reſources of that country.

Neither can we readily believe that the leaſt inconvenient methods of raiſing additional contributions will be adopted, when we ſee no leſs

than

than thirteen different articles of taxation deviſed to raiſe a ſum eſtimated at 10,000l. per annum; where ſo many additions are made to old duties, where ſo many fractional ſums and calculations are introduced, by which merchants will be ſtill more teazed and perplexed, on the receipt of the cuſtoms, and reduced to thoſe inconveniencies, ſubjected to that expenſive delay and coſtly waſte of time, ſo burthenſome and ſo much complained of in this country, before the cuſtoms were conſolidated by the great abilities and Herculean labours of Mr. Frewin.

Leaving it to the enlightened Members of a great Aſſembly to decide whether war was inevitable, or could have been avoided—to calculate its means, objects, probable ſucceſs and duration, it may, perhaps, be allowed, to plain and humble men, like myſelf, to whom the intereſts of their country are dear, to expreſs a wiſh that this war may be conducted with the leaſt poſſible expenſe; and that the burthens we ſtill feel, from the fatal American conteſt, may not be unneceſſarily increaſed.

Acting in concert with many great Powers, poſſibly with all Europe, combined in a league more extenſive than that of Cambray againſt Venice, aided by ſuch armaments, in a conteſt with France, impoveriſhed in her finances, and convulſed, to her center, by civil commotions, one might be diſpoſed to think that the ordinary landed

landed forces of this country—her peace eſtabliſhment, and her militia, would be ſufficient for internal defence.

While the trade of this country will probably alone ſuffer in a predatory war, while our aggreſſions will be principally maritime, it is our marine corps and our navy that ſhould demand our principal attention; that arrangement—that augmentation of our force, may not, perhaps, anſwer ſo well the purpoſes of patronage, or Parliamentary influence; but aſſuredly it will be, in theſe circumſtances, the ſureſt means of politic aggreſſion, and the moſt certain method of national defence.

Nor can that preference ever be ſo timely, as at the preſent criſis, which was recommended by Sir William Temple, upon general reflections on our inſular ſituation; the preference of a permanent fleet to a ſtanding army.

No. 23.

No. 23. WEDNESDAY, *March* 27, 1793.

——— quod optanti divûm promittere nemo
Auderet, volvenda dies, en attulit ultro.

VIRGIL.

THE Bill for the relief of the Iriſh Catholics, which has been lately agreed to in the Houſe of Commons of Ireland, with the amendments of the Lords, is one of thoſe memorable events of the preſent important period, which ought not to paſs by without a proper comment; more particularly in a Paper which has been ſo uſeful in many, but more particularly in this inſtance, by the publication of fair premiſes, from which ſuch juſt and important concluſions have been derived, and in the elucidation of truth.

For this complete emancipation, the Iriſh Catholics, the majority of the people of that kingdom, are, beyond doubt, principally indebted to the wiſdom and liberality of the Engliſh Adminiſtration, traverſed as their claims have been by ancient prejudices; by thoſe who abuſed their principles, while they aſſented to the meaſure; who ſpoke againſt a Bill to which, notwithſtanding, they gave their ſuffrages; and who made a tenacity of error, a principle of conduct, and a point of honour.

Thus the treaty of Limerick has, at length, been ratified; and that Convention of the 3d of October, 1691, has been accompliſhed, after the lapſe of a century: a treaty, for which, beyond doubt, the good faith of King William, and of the Engliſh nation, was pledged; by which they were entitled to all the privileges they enjoyed in the days of the Second Charles; in a word, to all privileges, ſave only that of ſitting in Parliament.

Of their military capacity, under this Bill, I ſhould wiſh to ſay a valedictory word; but, unwilling to take up more of your valuable Paper, or of public attention, at this buſy ſeaſon, I ſhall conclude, with obſerving, that few general aſſertions are capable of more proof than that ours is the only ſervice where religious tenets or perſuaſions are excluſions to ſerving in the army or navy; and that they form no diſqualifications, nor are any bar to ſervice in the armies of the various kingdoms on the continent of Europe.

No. 24.

No. 24. TUESDAY, *April* 2, 1793.

Miraberis, mi fili! quam pauca ſapientia mundus regitur.

OXENSTIERN.

HAVING, in my letter of the 12th ult: troubled you with ſome remarks upon the alarming ſtate of our Navy, I ſhall no longer dwell upon facts now generally admitted, and which have made, at length, their due impreſſion upon the public mind; but the criminal ſupineneſs of the marine department is a fertile theme, upon which I am not to ſeek for materials, but for bounds and limits to animadverſions.

The queſtion which naturally preſents itſelf to every thinking mind, nay, to the moſt ſuperficial obſerver, is ſhortly this: how comes it to paſs that, in the late conteſts with Spain and Ruſſia, upon foreign or remote and minor conſiderations, our fleets were powerful, and impoſed juſt ideas of the power and ſuperiority of England in the eyes of the univerſe, while in the preſent tremendous conflict, the ſquadrons not only of Toulon, but of Breſt, have had notoriouſly the advantage, and have been before-hand with us in the Mediterranean as well as the Atlantic?

But when we ſee thoſe who preſide in departments to which, ſo far from being trained to, they have never had the moſt remote knowledge of, the ſolution of this queſtion will be no longer problematical; we ſhould laugh at the idea of a Layman being placed at the head of the church, or of a Lieutenant of a man of war being made Commander in Chief of the army; and yet we are not ſurprized if a Captain of Foot ſhould be placed at the head of the Admiralty.

It has been aſſigned, as a colour for ſuch deſignations, (for no reaſons can be given for them) that it requires ſenatorial abilities to preſide in this department; but this plea cannot be urged now, nor was it a prevalent reaſon in the caſe of Lord Sandwich. The Naval Hiſtory of this country, ſubſtituting experience for theory, informs us, that our Navy was never ſo powerful, nor this country ever ſo ſucceſsful in its proper element, as during the ſuperintendency of Lord Orford---of Sir Charles Wager, in 1739---of the great circumnavigator in the ſeven years war, during the glorious epoch of Lord Chatham's adminiſtration.

Waving, however, invidious reflections upon perſonal qualifications, permit me to offer a few reflections to the public upon this moſt important ſubject, and to dedicate theſe obſervations, through

through the medium of your uſeful and valuable Paper, at the ſacred ſhrine of public welfare.

It is aſſerted, by thoſe who are beſt acquainted with naval affairs, that it is impoſſible to man our fleet effectually without having recourſe to the impreſs ſervice. This power, which is juſtified by the *ſalus populi*, the general ſafety, the firſt law, paramount to every other conſideration; that power which Lord Chatham, in the affair of Faulkland's Iſlands, beautifully and emphatically called "the right-hand of the community," and which, in the caſe of Broadfoot, was proved to be conſonant to law, and countenanced by Acts of Parliament in Judge Forſter's Reports. This exertion having been unaccountably poſtponed, it remains for us to conſider whether, if the preſent formidable conteſt ſhould be prolonged, it might not be expedient to adopt ſome permanent regulations, for the eſtabliſhment of our naval forces upon a ſure and laſting foundation, and render the navy our primary object, in preference to every other conſideration.

Regiſters for ſeamen in France have had the happieſt effects; by theſe means, ſea-faring people are licenſed to enter into the merchants ſervice, provided that in the exigency of the State, they ſhall be obliged to ſerve on board the King's ſhips in the defence of their country, when ſummoned by the Admiralty.

Propoſitions to this effect were made in Parliament, ſoon after the Revolution, and even in later periods, though many difficulties have prevented their adoption; but of all the projects of this ſort, that which ſeems to be the moſt analagous to our inſular ſituation, and to the preſervation of this country, is that of rendering our principal force amphibious: in a word, the eſtabliſhment of a permanent fleet, inſtead of a ſtanding army, which I ſhall deſcribe in the words of the wiſeſt and the moſt public-ſpirited Miniſter that this country ever produced.

"The firſt act I eſteem of the greateſt and moſt general uſe (ſays Sir William Temple) is, that whereas the ſafety, honour, and wealth of this kingdom depends chiefly on our naval forces: a diſtinct and perpetual revenue may be applied, and appropriated by Act of Parliament for the maintaining of fifty men of war, with an adequate proportion of ſeamen, to be always either at ſea, or ready in port, to ſail upon all occaſions: this navy to be ſo proportioned, by the ſeveral rates of ſhips, as may ſerve in peace to ſecure our trade from piracies, ſudden inſults, or inſolencies of our neighbours, may aſſert the dominion and ſafety of the narrow ſeas; and, in time of war, with the addition of thirty capital ſhips, or more, compoſe a fleet ſtrong enough to fight a fair battle with the ſtrongeſt

ſtrongeſt of our neighbours, with the bleſſing of God, and in a juſt cauſe.

"The conſtant charge of fifty ſuch ſhips may amount to ſix hundred thouſand pounds a year; and if this exceeded the current charges, the reſt might be applied to repair old or to build new ſhips; one half might be appropriated to this uſe, out of the Cuſtoms, and the other half raiſed by ſome clear tax upon the houſes and lands of each pariſh, collected every half year by the churchwardens, and paid by them to the Sheriff of each county, and by him to the Treaſurer of the Navy.

"Such a tax would be light, and paſs but as a ſmall quit-rent, which every man would be content to pay towards the guard of the ſeas: the money would circulate at home, amongſt ourſelves, and would ſecure and increaſe the vaſt wealth of our trade. But it is inconceivable what treaſures it would ſave this nation, by preventing ſo many wars or quarrels abroad, as we have been expoſed to, by our neighbours inſolencies, upon our being diſarmed or ill-provided at ſea; nor would ſuch a fleet, continually maintained, be of ſmall effect, to poiſe any diſcontents or factions at home; but it would, at leaſt, leave us to compoſe our own differences, without the dangerous intervention or invaſion of any foreign Power."

With due allowances for change of circumſtances, after the lapſe of more than a century, theſe obſervations of this great and excellent man apply to the preſent exigency: to this propoſition, it may be added, that a proportionable reduction of our land forces, upon the increaſe of our marines, would render this plan more œconomical; and that it might be rendered more uſeful, if a permanent principle ſhould be adopted in future treaties, to contribute our quota of aid, not in land, but in maritime aſſiſtance.

While we ſee, however, the enormous levies of land forces in Great Britain and Ireland, the addition of one hundred and fifty independent companies, and the enormous quota of 10,000 troops ſtipulated in the Pruſſian treaty, we ſhall be induced to think that our fleet has been, in the contemplation of Miniſters, a minor conſideration.

Preventive meaſures are better far than remedial, not only in this reſpect, but alſo in the late failures it is manifeſt, that forecaſt and prudential arrangements prevent the conſequences of extravagant ſpeculations: nor would it have been difficult to have prevented many of the late bankruptcies, had the county banks been obliged to iſſue notes for ſums not leſs than twenty pounds, by which a due currency would be given to thoſe of the Bank of England, while

while thoſe five guinea notes would be guarded againſt; by which paper circulation has effectually baniſhed gold and ſilver from the country, as they were by iron money, under the inſtitutes of Licurgus at Sparta.

But to revert to the principal object of this Eſſay, it has been ſaid that in the preſidence of a ſeaman, parties and predilections would prevail, from which the Maritime Department might be free by the appointment of a landſman; but if prejudices or particular friendſhips are to prevail, ſurely thoſe are preferable which ariſe from long ſervices and habits contracted in warfare, than in thoſe by which miniſterial preferments are guided by the ſyſtems of a convivial club, or governed by the continued jealouſy and capricious whim of a female *cotérie*.

To whatever cauſe, however, it is to be aſcribed, certain it is, and our late enormous loſſes in the Mediterranean ſpeak it feelingly—that this country never was more unprepared, in her proper element, for war—in a war long foreſeen by Adminiſtration.

Never was an exclamation better applied than that general remark, the motto to this Eſſay; more relevant by far than to the ſituation of affairs of the Confederates before the treaty of Munſter, when it was made by the Swediſh Miniſter Oxenſtiern, upon their miſconduct after the death of the great Guſtavus,

Certain

Certain it is, that public affairs appear now to hang upon conjecture and uncertainty; and, like the fortune of certain eminent men, much admired by vulgar and undiſcerning minds, to be mere caſualties, the creatures of events, and the ſport of fortune.

No. 25.

No. 25. TUESDAY, *May* 7, 1793.

Suis & ipſa Roma viribus ruit.

HORACE.

THE deplorable ſtate of public credit, lately diſplayed by the higheſt authority, is an evil of ſo great an extent that it does not admit of an exaggeration; nor will a long preface be neceſſary in an addreſs on this ſubject, from a well-wiſher to his country, to the good ſenſe of the people of England.

Retroſpect is irkſome to liberal minds, who wiſh to treat raſhneſs with lenity, and ignorance with indulgence: the original cauſe of the encouragement of paper currency, from the produce of the ſtamps, is too well known. Reflections upon a propoſed plan are not in contemplation, ſince that ſyſtem which is founded in error cannot be amended.

Two remedies have been propoſed—the one to let the exceſs of the evil work its own cure, and to prevent its return by legal reſtrictions and regulations, to operate hereafter, as was the caſe in Ireland in 1756 and 1760; the other to enable the Bank to iſſue more notes, and to diſcount more liberally, by a grant of three millions

lions from the Legiſlature; while private aſſociations may ſupport credit in commercial diſtricts, or plans ſimilar to the princely ſubſcription of the gentlemen near Newcaſtle, or the patriotic ſyſtem of the merchants of Liverpool.

Various objections have been made againſt the laſt propoſition, by thoſe who wiſh to perplex that which is plain, and to adopt that which is intricate and bad, perhaps impracticable: to all which remarks I ſhall ſhortly reply in the words of Sir William Temple, when he recommended a general regiſtry---" that which has been, may be:" that in adopting this plan they would follow the advice of the greateſt luminaries this country has produced, and tread in the ſteps of their anceſtors.

Our predeceſſors, in 1696, had a proſpect full as gloomy as the preſent: we were engaged then in a gloomy ſyſtem of continental alliances; the war was accompanied with expenſive embarkations of cavalry, and large detachments of infantry, while our natural ſtrength was neglected, and the navy became a ſubaltern conſideration.

At that period, the ſilver coin was ſo depreciated, that guineas paſſed for thirty ſhillings; Bank notes bore diſcount of fifteen per cent. and were paid by ten per cent. every fortnight; and Bank ſtock was conſiderably under *par*.

The

The firſt mode of relief adopted then was a re-coinage, by which nine millions of ſilver were melted down with a ſuppoſed loſs to the nation of two millions; and the next was, the iſſuing of ſmall Exchequer bills, firſt invented by Mr. Montague, as a *temporary* ſubſtitute for ſpecie; and laſtly, five millions was raiſed by loan, and granted to the Bank, to complete the original ſubſcription to *par*, to enable the Directors to iſſue more notes, and to diſcount more liberally.

This was effected by a long Act of Parliament of the 9th of King William, then called the Engrafting Act; but as this word might lead to technical terms and financial manœuvres, I ſhall accompany this plain account with a reference to a compilation, where it may be fully traced in Anderſon's Hiſtory of Commerce.*

The conſequences of theſe wiſe meaſures were ſuch, that credit revived, and commerce was reſtored; the nation appeared more brilliant when the cloud was removed. England faced her enemies with glory; the Revolution was rendered permanent, and ſoon after, a glorious peace was effected, by the treaty of Ryſwick.

* Vol. II. p. 618 and 622.

Let

Let us now contraſt the preſent pawnbroking ſyſtem with the following eulogium, drawn by the maſterly pen of Dr. Somerville, of the conduct of the great man who then preſided at the helm, of Mr. Montague, afterwards Lord Halifax, at that time Chancellor of the Exchequer.

" The reſolutions (ſays that able writer) " and the meaſures by which they were ac- " compliſhed, while they reflect honour on " all who acceded to them, conſecrate the " name of Mr. Montague, the Chancellor " of the Exchequer, to diſtinguiſhed and " everlaſting applauſe. Poſſeſſed of an un- " derſtanding, penetrating and comprehen- " ſive, he devoted himſelf, with intenſe ap- " plication, to the ſtudy of finance; and " ſuggeſted expedients and reſources, which " not only eluded the reſearches of the moſt " ingenious ſpeculators, but exceeded the " comprehenſion of many, who were far " from being ignorant, or inexpert, in the " ordinary buſineſs of the Revenue. The " names of the celebrated Sir Iſaac Newton, " and of Mr. Locke, are alſo tranſmitted " to our gratitude; for having contributed " their aſſiſtance to Mr. Montague, in this " arduous buſineſs; and it is a pleaſure to " publiſh every circumſtance which adds to " the merit of thoſe whoſe memory is ſo pre-

"cious to every friend of ſcience and of vir-
"tue."*

* In conſequence of the *decay* of PUBLIC CREDIT in Ireland, towards the concluſion of the late reign, a report was made on the 6th of May, 1756, upon which two laws were grounded, relative to Bankers: this report was made, and thoſe laws were framed by Mr. Pery, afterwards Speaker of the Houſe of Commons of Ireland.

Theſe regulations have had ſuch ſalutary effects, that there are not a dozen country Banks in Ireland; and their having eſcaped the violence, at leaſt, of the preſent commercial ſtorm, more formidable than any that has happened ſince the tremendous bubble in 1720, does infinite honour to the ſagacious precautions and clear foreſight of that wiſe and excellent man.

By theſe laws, bankers properties are regiſtered in the general regiſtry of that kingdom; they are not allowed to be merchants, ſhop-keepers, or concerned with the public revenues, while intereſt is interdicted on their notes: they are obliged to call in their accountable receipts, &c. within a ſhort period of quitting buſineſs, andno tes cannot be re-iſſued.

Happy would it have been for this country, aſſuredly highly honourable to Adminiſtration, had ſome regulations of this ſort been adopted here, to prevent ruinous ſpeculations, and ſwarms of country banks; evils which were long foreſeen, even by ſuperficial obſervers: nor does it now form an excuſe, that, according to the homely proverb, thoſe who were penny wiſe and pound fooliſh encouraged this extenſive paper circulation, for the ſake of the ſtamp duty, and to obtain an increaſe of the revenue.

No. 26. FRIDAY, *May* 10, 1793.

Spretis quæ tarda veniant; vel cum Exitio properant.
TACITUS.

IT has been creditably reported that a Great Man, lately in high office, foreſaw that paper credit exceeded its due bounds; that the bubble would burſt, as it did in 1720, with wide and vaſt ruin; and that he ſuggeſted ſome expedients, as a timely remedy, particularly a reviſion and amendment of the Bankrupt Laws, of that ſyſtem, which came under his own department and peculiar ſuperintendance.

Happy, indeed, would it have been, had Adminiſtration (if this be true) deſired and liſtened to the councils of one, to whom his country and his ſovereign owe ſo much; but thoſe who miſtake fortune for merit, and thus conſecrate their own fortuitous elevation, often contemn the ſuggeſtions of the moſt enlightened, forgetting that deluſion is tranſitory, while truth alone is permanent; that ſtorms in the political produce the effect of tempeſts in the natural world; that they clear the atmoſphere from noxious vapours in one caſe, while they diſperſe the miſts of prejudice in the other.

The

The leſſons which adverſity inculcate are, to reduce ourſelves to our proper level, to lead us to look at our real, and not to amuſe ourſelves with our imaginary ſituation; to correct the future by the paſt; that truſt may no longer be the reciprocal injury of thoſe who give, and of thoſe who receive it: in a word, that confidence may not outleap its due bounds, nor credit tranſcend ſecurity.

As an abſtract queſtion, it may be doubted whether an appropriation of public credit to merchants is beneficial; whether it is wiſe to take from the laborious—to exact from the meritorious, that they may beſtow great emoluments upon the improvident and extravagant part of the community? whether the juſt definition of a *job* is not a *transfer of public means to private ends?* whether popularity may not be thus bought at too dear a rate? whether poſterity may not conſider ſuch a ſyſtem, like thoſe revenues which we trace in the orations of Demoſthenes, and which, as ſome critics ſuppoſe, were dedicated to the theatrical amuſement of the people of Athens?

The temporary relief and artificial props of ruinous ſpeculation, of which the exceſs might operate the cure, may reſemble the aggregate of the repairs from time to time, of a bridge, which amount to a larger ſum than the eſtimate of its reconſtruction.

While it is high treaſon to clip or coin, paper money may be circulated without reſtraint, limitation, or ſecurity; no puniſhment awaits the tranſgreſſor, by whom thouſands may be ruined; and in this great commercial country, there are yet no regulations for private bankers, ſave only thoſe in 1708, limiting their firm to ſix, and their notes to a certain time, while regulations prevail in Ireland upon this ſubject; there, as well as in Scotland, regiſters are general, as they have been in the ſeventeen provinces of the Dutch and Auſtrian Flanders ſince the time of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, which are confined to the counties only in England.

Theſe regiſters have been progreſſive, not only in the Shires, but even in different parts of the ſame counties. Thus the regiſter for the Weſt Riding was eſtabliſhed in 1704; for the Eaſt Riding in 1708; for Middleſex in 1709; and for the North Riding in 1735; though, in the ſecond inſtance, we have the following teſtimony of the utility of thoſe inſtitutions from the Legiſlature.

" That the lands in the ſaid Eaſt Riding, being generally freehold, they may be ſo ſecretly conveyed from one perſon to another, that ſuch as are ill-diſpoſed may commit frauds, and frequently do ſo, by means whereof ſeveral perſons (who, through years of induſtry, and by great frugality,

frugality, have been enabled to purchaſe lands, or lend money on landed ſecurity) have been undone in their purchaſes and mortgages, by prior ſecret conveyances, and not only themſelves, but their whole families, utterly ruined."*

It is true, that a paradox has been advanced, that the credit of a commercial country ſhould be unlimited, nor chained by any reſtraint, nor fettered by any reſtrictions; but, for the refutation of this groſs error, I refer to the able ſpeech of the great merchant, the late Mr. Glover, at the bar of the Houſe of Commons, where, in conſequence of the great ſhock that money credit received in 1772, he recommended a ſyſtem of reſtraint upon unbounded truſt and fictitious ſecurity.

Aſſuredly ſuch a reſtraint would be reciprocally advantageous to creditors and merchants, to thoſe who give, and to thoſe who receive credit; ſince many of the latter are to be found, who, to uſe the phraſe of the Roman Hiſtorian, the motto to this Eſſay—deſpiſing ſure but ſlow acquiſitions, haſten to be rich at the riſque of deſtruction.

* 6th of Anne, c. 25.

No. 27. SATURDAY, *May* 25, 1793.

——— Animaſque in vulnere ponunt.

VIRGIL.

HAVING preſerved Holland, forced the French to evacuate Flanders, to confine themſelves within their own limits, to waſte their reſources by inteſtine warfare and increaſing anarchy, ſurely the true policy of England would now be to leave them to their fate, that this hive of monſters may periſh like bees by their own animoſity, and loſe their ſtings and their lives in the wounds which they inflict.

Happy would it be for mankind to profit by that golden maxim, that the law of moderation is the law of enjoyment; ſtill happier would it be for England to reſt ſatisfied with her victories, with the accompliſhment of the two great objects of the war, to give eaſe to her exhauſted ſubjects, conſolation to her drooping commerce, to heal the wounds which the war has cauſed, and repoſe under the ſhade of her laurels.

Aſſuredly England is now triumphant and ſecure. What object can ſhe attain by the farther proſecution of the land war? Is it worth while

while to make assurance double sure, at the hazard of public credit? If a barrier is to be obtained for the House of Austria, let the Emperor and his new ally contend for that object without our intervention.

It was certainly a great oversight in the maritime powers to suffer the Imperial Joseph to dismantle the fortresses of Flanders in 1785; thus to destroy the fruits of the Duke of Marlborough's victories, purchased by the blood and treasure of our ancestors: but if Austria wishes to re-establish a barrier for the Netherlands, the sole plea which now exists for the continuance of a land war, either she is able to conquer the strong posts with her own and the force of her new ally on the French frontiers, or, if not, it would be cheaper and more expedient to re-fortify those towns which were dismantled by the late Emperor, when he projected the exchange of Flanders for Bavaria.

I repeat it, and it was an observation made in 1785, that it was a negligence which nothing but ignorance of antecedent circumstances could justify, to suffer the guarantee of the maritime powers to be superseded, and the terms of the Barrier Treaty to be done away by the late Emperor: but that lapse in our foresight, that grand mistake in our political conduct, is now without a remedy, and that retrospect is idle which creates only useless regret; for surely no

man can adopt ſo prepoſterous a ſcheme, or even think of retracing the campaigns of the Duke of Marlborough, to fight thoſe battles over again, and to add one hundred millions more to the national debt, and the preſent diſaſtrous ſtate of the reſources of this country.

That France has declared war, without reaſon or provocation, againſt us I admit, but what then? Is it the ſane and ſound part of the country that are hoſtile to us? Certainly not. Had the mob in 1780 obtained a complete victory in this country—had they plundered the Bank, poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſupreme power, and afterwards declared war againſt all Europe, would their adverſaries conſider their phrenzy in a ſerious light?—would they not ſurely have recourſe to defenſive meaſures; and regard them as objects of contempt, and not of ſerious indignation?

There are certain truths, which though many think, few are bold enough to pronounce; motives, perhaps, of prudence, or of ſelf-intereſt, reſtrain them, and artful men avail themſelves of this ſilence to effect their own purpoſes.

In the preſent *criſis*, however, it is clear that we ſhould not leave a ſingle man on the Continent, and confine ourſelves altogether to naval operations. Of the obligations of the Pruſſian Treaty much may be ſaid; but if it be

carried much farther, if we are bound to act offenſively, that treaty which has nearly been the ruin, will yet be the grave of this country.

By exertions on our own element, we ſhall act with ten-fold vigour, while the reſources of this country will not, in fact, be ultimately exhauſted: in naval preparations, that money is ſpent among ourſelves, which becomes a dead loſs, and is completely ſubtracted from us by continental operations.

It is much to be lamented that all our exertions are not confined to the fleet, and that the whole of our military ſervice is not amphibious: for this purpoſe, that regiſter for 30,000 ſailors, eſtabliſhed by an Act of Parliament in 1696, was admirably contrived, and its repeal in 1710 may be conſidered as a national misfortune.

In fine, if we conſult the wiſeſt men this country has produced, we ſhall find them recommending the preference of the naval to the land ſervice.

To this effect was the advice of one, who, conſcious of the dark cloud that obſcured the evening of his life, which dimmed, but did not extinguiſh his luſtre, bequeathed his name and memory to foreign nations, and to his own country, after ſome time had paſſed over; the prophet of thoſe arts which Locke and Newton were afterwards deſtined to reveal.

" He that commands at ſea, (ſays Lord Bacon) is at great liberty, and may take as much or as little of the war as he thinks proper: whereas potentates, who are merely ſtrong at land, are frequently, notwithſtanding their great land ſuperiority, reduced to great difficulties, and the riches of both Indies ſeem, in a great degree, to be the conſequence of the command at ſea."

No. 28. MONDAY, *June* 3, 1793.

Hinc uſura vorax, avidumque in tempore Fænus,
Hinc concuſſa fides, & multis utile Bellum.

LUCAN.

ENGAGED as this country now is in the continuance of a land war, where our intereſts are no longer concerned, ſome pretext or colour of reaſon, one would imagine, might be ſubſtituted in place of that ridiculous phraſe, *implicit confidence* — a maxim of a very recent date; ſince Lord Chatham himſelf, not many years ago, pronounced, that "confidence in Miniſters was a plant of ſlow growth, nor did it eaſily take root in aged boſoms."

Aſſuredly ſome excuſe or apology ſhould be made to a great country, for laviſhing millions on a Flanders war, while the reſources of the kingdom are viſibly and daily declining; ſome reaſon, if any can be found, which might rouſe and intereſt the people to commit themſelves in a war the moſt ruinous and deſtructive that we have ever experienced.

General aſſertions are, however, vague and unimportant, without proofs. The Dutch war in 1672, it is true, was attended with a ſequeſtration

tration of the bankers property in the Exchequer —a ſpecies of public bankruptcy: but let any man caſt his eye over the London Gazette, from the firſt number in 1665, and he will not find in the commencement of King William's and Queen Anne's wars, of the wars of 1739 and of 1756, nay, in the American war itſelf, that the liſt of bankruptcies were nearly equal, as at preſent, to the military promotions in the Gazette.

Since, then, no reaſon has been given for the continuance of the war, or, at leaſt, none that is ſatisfactory to the public, it may not be inexpedient to ſtate the humble obſervations of a plain, obſcure individual, who, however, wiſhes well to the community, on the true grounds of the perſeverance in a land war.

Too many are to be found, in high as well as in low life, who ſurvey the evils that afflict their fellow-creatures with a malignant eye, and conſider them as the great harveſt of private intereſt; of this deſcription are thoſe who have availed themſelves of the preſent hurricane in the ſouth of Europe, to effect a diviſion of a free and independent kingdom—thoſe deſpots who have made a partition, by a diagonal line drawn through the maſs of the whole territory of Poland.

The Emperor having no oſtenſible ſhare in this ſhameful tranſaction, a queſtion may be aſked,

aſked, where is his compenſation for his acquieſcence? But Alſace, Lorrain, and French Flanders, are deſigned, it ſeems, to be conquered by the Combined Powers, and ceded to Auſtria. The Imperial Joſeph having diſmantled the Flemiſh fortreſſes in 1785, from the neglect of the maritime Powers to enforce their guarantee; this neglect is to be remedied, and the Barrier Treaty re-eſtabliſhed at the expenſe of this country, and won by a ſeries of campaigns, as it was acquired by the victories of the Duke of Marlborough.

Unhappily for England, we are involved in a treaty with Pruſſia, ſigned the 13th of Auguſt, 1788; by which the reciprocal contingents of 16,000 infantry, and 4000 cavalry, are to be furniſhed whenever the requiring party ſhall be threatened with hoſtilities.

Upon this faithful and ſhort ſtatement let us pauſe for a moment, and ſurvey this plain and juſt chart of the war, of its objects and deſtination.

Is the American cruſade ſo ſoon forgotten, or do we wiſh, with paſſive obedience, to plunge this country into worſe calamities? Is the minor to be preferred to the greater intereſt, or the imaginary intereſt of Princes, to the ſolid and eſſential welfare of the people? Can an honourable mind, from experience or reflection, ſuppoſe that there are, in the conduct of beings

of

of that deſcription, principles either in point of honour or gratitude, of juſtice or fair dealing, that can warrant juſt grounds of confidence, or cauſe even a temporary deviation from a regard to public welfare?

The two great objects of the war, the preſervation of Holland and of Flanders, alſo being effected, what is there left for England to deſire? and is not this the period to negociate, when we have accompliſhed our deſigns?

Our annals all diſplay to our view the offers of Louis the XIVth at Gertruydenburgh, in 1709, contraſted with the Treaty of Utrecht in 1711: had we cloſed with him in the former period, all the objects of the grand alliance would have been accompliſhed; but thoſe conferences were interrupted by the continuance of the war, and millions were laviſhed to procure ſhame and repentance at the pacification of Utrecht.

This leſſon our anceſtors have left us—to make peace in time, nor to commit public welfare to the uncertainties of continued hoſtilities; the example may be highly proper, and the application of it to the preſent exigency is too obvious to require farther comments.

May the good Genius of England reſcue her from an intricate and intereſted confederacy, where her intereſts are no longer concerned; may the ſupreme Diſpoſer of events preſerve her from

from a long catalogue of evils, attendant upon land armaments and faithleſs allies. Above all, may the maritime Powers have no concern with ſyſtems of partition; nor let England become the aſſociate of the Royal Conſpirators againſt the liberties, the independence, and internal Conſtitution of Poland.

No. 29.

No. 29. MONDAY, *June* 10, 1793.

Cujus ora non ſunt ſua, ſed aliena.

SELDEN.

IT was the juſt remark of the great author of the *Mare Clauſum*, that while England aſſerted her ancient claims to a naval ſuperiority, her limits were not confined to her own, but that her power was extended to the coaſts of every nation in the univerſe.

"All that is wanted (ſays Xenophon, in his Hiſtory of Greece) to render Athens all-powerful, is a ſea---is an inſular ſituation."—"One would imagine (ſays the author of *l'Eſprit des Loix*) that ~~that hiſtorian, in~~ deſcribing the hiſtory of that Republic, was ſpeaking of the actual ſtate of England as a naval power."

The completeſt analogy may, doubtleſs, be found between the ancient and the greateſt modern marine country; and the common well-known ſentiment, ſo often repeated on the feſtive banquets of Britons, is a literal tranſlation of the advice that Themiſtocles gave to his countrymen in the hour of danger—"that they ſhould place their chief confidence in the ~~wooden~~ walls of Athens."

When

When this country was itſelf a continental power, by her poſſeſſion of Normandy, and many other provinces in France, we cannot be ſurprized at her attention to land armaments, and her ſucceſs in land wars under the Edwards and Henrys; but, limited as we have been for three centuries to an inſular ſituation, when we caſt a glance over the hiſtory of this country, we ſhall be ſurprized that this country ever engaged in continental operations.

In the ſeveral wars ſince the Reſtoration, we have acted in combination, not with the forces only, but peculiarly with the intereſts of other countries. In the reign of the Second Charles, a body of Engliſh volunteers were thought to be ſo powerful an engine in the armies of Louis the Fourteenth, that their entering into their ſervice occaſioned the warmeſt altercations in Parliament; and it is a curious fact, that upon a debate on this ſubject, that Sir Winſton Churchill apologized for his ſon making his firſt campaign under Mareſcal Turenne, and lending his ſervices to aggrandize that power, which in the next century was ſo effectually crippled by his victories.

This whimſical propenſity of endeavouring to ſhine as a land military power is the more extraordinary, as certainly we always have been, and probably muſt ever remain, inferior to moſt of the

the petty German States, in the ſcale of land forces.

But it is a great truth, that cannot be too often impreſſed upon the minds of Britons—that on our own element, acting with the full exertion of her natural ſtrength, England is a match for the whole world, though inferior to any of the five conſiderable kingdoms in Europe, in her land forces.

Nor is the proof of this aſſertion difficult, ſince, at the cloſe of the American war, we captured three Admirals, under the auſpices of Rodney, of the three great Powers with whom we were engaged, united with the armed Neutrality, which may be well conſidered as the whole Naval Power of the Continent.

In the preſent criſis, however, peace is the grand *deſideratum*, the *primary object* of this country. There is a wonderful propenſity to puzzle the cauſe, and to perplex that which is plain and eaſy, when particular intereſts are in queſtion. With whom will you treat? (ſay the advocates for war.) Have they a King, a Council, or a Parliament in France? To this, I anſwer—Be what they will, ſavages, or canibals, if you pleaſe, yet ſtill you can always make a child's bargain with them: and of this ſpecies of pacific arrangements, under the name of truces, in early times there were abundant inſtances

ſtances with rebels, and all deſcriptions of men, in Rymer's Fœdera.

But if the war muſt continue, the voice of truth, of good ſenſe, of the Engliſh nation, in a word, is for a Naval War. Nor ſhould a ſingle man be left on the Continent of Europe—thus we ſhall ſhine once more on our own element, and get rid of a confederacy where our intereſts are no longer concerned, of a diviſion of territory, which is the diſgrace of this century: in fine, of that felonious tranſaction the partition of Poland, of which the attack upon the French frontiers ſeems only a part of the ſame ſyſtem, and an indemnification for the acquieſcence of the Houſe of Auſtria.

Of partitions, and treaties for diviſions of kingdoms, without the conſent of the inhabitants, our anceſtors entertained a juſt abhorrence, marked in the moſt emphatic manner, in the debates on the celebrated Treaty at the end of the laſt century, for the diviſion of Spain; the fatal cauſe of the will of the laſt Spaniſh King of the Auſtrian line, in favour of the Houſe of Bourbon, and of the union of the two crowns, in the ſame family.

Nor would ſo ſtrong an epithet have been affigned to the diviſion of the whole territory of Poland, were it not juſtified by the expreſ-

ſion of a diſtinguiſhed Member of Parliament, in the reign of King William, who called the famous Partition, at the cloſe of his reign, a Felonious Treaty.

No. 30.

No. 30. TUESDAY, *July* 2, 1793.

Diurna populi Romani, per provincias, per exercitus, curatius leguntur quam ut non noſcatur, quid Thraſea fecerit.

TACITUS.

THE above paſſage evidently proves that Newſpapers were circulated in the Roman empire; though of the mode of multiplying copies, we have, it is ſaid, no clear account, and it muſt have been attended with great difficulties, when the art of printing was unknown.

Of the utility of the public prints in this country, too much cannot be ſaid; and I ſhall proceed to inveſtigate, through the medium of one of our beſt conducted Papers, that moſt important and moſt difficult, perhaps, of all ſubjects, the regulation of intereſt.

In early periods, intereſt was held to be immoral and unlawful: it was firſt allowed, and limited to 10 per cent. in the 37th year of Henry the VIIIth; before which period, a predominant ſuperſtition, backed by the authority of Ariſtotle, and the doctrines of the ſchoolmen, diſcountenanced it, by a contumelious term, which has laſted to our days; and it was held to be an evil that ought to be interdicted.

Intereſt has been ſince reduced from ten, to eight, to ſix, and laſtly, to five per cent. in 1714: limitations which have been adopted by the wiſeſt Councils, and the moſt enlightened Parliaments, and countenanced by great commercial authorities.

On the other hand, in Holland there are no legal limitations of the price of money, nor reſtrictions of intereſt, in a country where it is lower than in any other part of Europe: fraud, it is true, is guarded againſt, regiſters of all pecuniary tranſactions, and publicity in all tranſfers, are prevalent; but men are left to make their own bargains, and are guided only by their own diſcretion in their loans; thus the price of money, like water, finds its level in that country, regulates its juſt rate according to riſques and circumſtances, and ſpontaneouſly aſcertains its own natural intereſt.

Of thoſe who adopt the principle of reſtrictions, ſimilar to thoſe which have prevailed in England, is Doctor Smith, the great author of the Wealth of Nations: while, in former days, Lord Bacon, and lately, the ingenious Mr. Bentham, and the laborious pen of Mr. Playfair, have been employed in contending that the intereſt of money ſhould be unreſtrained, and find its own level in a commercial country.

Thus circumſtanced, it is evident that there is no queſtion where authorities are more equally balanced,

balanced, none where opinions are more divided; where it is more difficult to turn the ſcale, or to decide on which ſide truth preponderates.

Three obſervations have, however, been made, which muſt have great weight by the advocates for leaving intereſt to find its own rate, freed from any reſtraint, and uncontrouled by any legal limitation.

The firſt is, that every loan reſembles an inſurance; that its terms muſt vary according to circumſtances, and be proportionate to riſques that are incurred; that intereſt would thus be a ſtandard of credit: good ſecurities would obtain money at an eaſy rate, while adventurers would be highly taxed in the terms of their loans, and a check would thus be given to extravagant ſpeculations, which would no longer out-run ſecurity.

Secondly, that lenders who demanded too much would be naturally checked by borrowing from others at more reaſonable rates: in plainer terms, if an unreaſonable intereſt was exacted by A. that the loan might be had from B. on lower terms, and the firſt creditors demand be thus diſcharged; or, if not, if a more advantageous bargain could not be made, it would be plain that the terms of the firſt loan were juſt and equitable.

Laſtly, it has been proved, at the period of the American war, that, in forced ſales, either in land or money, a debtor would loſe, if compelled to ſell from known and urgent diſtreſs, in one caſe thirty-ſeven, and in another thirty-two per cent. conſequently, that if he were allowed to borrow at above two per cent. he would be a gainer of more than twenty per cent. This calculation would exceed the bounds of this Eſſay; and I muſt refer to the ſixth letter upon this ſubject, in the curious and intereſting Treatiſe of Mr. Bentham.

But, though the favourers of this doctrine promiſe ſuch vaſt advantages to this country, by freeing intereſt from legal reſtraints, it would be preſumptuous to conclude that they had brought this matter to a clear demonſtration: experiment and actual experience can, perhaps, alone decide this great and intereſting queſtion—it might not, probably, be inexpedient to try it for a time, and to adopt a temporary repeal; and the more ſo, as Monteſquieu, from the example of France, where limitations of intereſt, under their former Government, were ineffectual to regulate its rate, has aſſerted, that this is a matter to which laws cannot always extend; that evaſions will often

often predominate; that reſtraints often tend to encumber honeſt men and fair dealers, without curbing the prodigal, or checking the uſurer.*

* Bentham's Defence of Uſury, p. 31.

No. 31. FRIDAY, *Auguſt* 16, 1793.

Litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas.

VIRGIL.

IT has been a ſtrong and juſt reproach to all the nations of Europe, that a neſt of robbers on the coaſts of Africa ſhould, for ages paſt, have been ſuffered to plunder their ſhips, to haraſs their trade and commerce with impunity; that ſo far from uniting for their extirpation they have ſeparately ſtipulated for their protection, and that the *Corps Diplomatique* is diſgraced by exiſting treaties with the piratical States of Barbary.

The preſent combination of all the powers of Europe, in a juſt and neceſſary war againſt France, the common enemy of every ſyſtem of government, of order, of morality, of every civil and divine ordinance, if it ſhould be conducted with wiſdom, policy, and good faith, reflects the higheſt honour upon the preſent aſſociation; nor could any government, nor the liberties and properties of any kingdom be ſafe, while a ſtate, conducted ſolely upon principles of diſcord and plunder remained, and while a government, worſe than that of the Algerine States,

States, which labours to ſecure its eſtabliſhment by diffuſing its poiſon, ſhould predominate in the center of Europe.

But while we applaud the principle of the war, it is but juſt that that nation, whoſe interference turned the ſcale of conqueſt, whoſe efforts have been moſt efficacious, ſhould be principally conſidered in the conduct of the war: and this conſideration leads me to convey to the people of England a few reflections, upon two important objects, grounded upon *perſonal obſervation*, through the medium of your excellent Paper, of the firſt conſequence to the future ſafety of Britain, and her naval ſuperiority; I mean, the demolition of the port of Dunkirk, and the works of Cherbourg.

The firſt, it is well known, was once in our poſſeſſion, and ceded to England, in conſequence of the ſervices rendered by a body of Engliſh auxiliaries, commanded by General Lockart, who ſerved with the French when it was taken by Mareſchal Turenne; and after it was ſold by the Second Charles to Louis the XIVth, every treaty, particularly that of Utrecht, required the demolition of the port of Dunkirk, from the extreme injury the trade of this country ſuffered from her corſairs; from its being the receptacle of privateers in war, and the principle neſt of ſmugglers and free-booters in times of peace.

Why

Why that object was totally relinquiſhed, in the peace of 1783, is difficult to account for, even upon plauſible motives; or why Parliament permitted, in the ratifications of that treaty, ſo notorious and impolitic a deviation from the wiſe policy of their anceſtors!

The tenth article of the Treaty of Utrecht ſtipulated, in the moſt emphatic ſtrain, that the port of Dunkirk, the ſluices, piers, and baſon, ſhould be demoliſhed; but that article was conſtantly evaded by repreſentations, that if the canals of Mardyk and Furnes were converted into other channels, without which Dunkirk would no longer be a practicable harbour, even for ſmall craft, the inhabitants could not exiſt, from want of a ſupply of freſh water, as all the wells in that town furniſh water that is brackiſh and unwholeſome.

This conſideration, however, ſhews, that Dunkirk, if cloſely inveſted by ſea and land, muſt become an eaſy conqueſt—ſince a powerful army could eaſily divert theſe canals from their preſent channels, and Dunkirk would neceſſarily yield from the want of this great neceſſary of life: thus the treaty of Utrecht might at laſt be fulfilled, and force carry that point where the faith of ſolemn compacts had proved ineffectual.

The demolition of the works of Cherbourg is another, and a moſt important conſideration, eſſen-

eſſential to our future ſafety and preſervation: the deſtruction of the baſon and harbour, in 1758, under the auſpices of Lord Chatham, prove the probability of our ſucceeding in a ſimilar enterprize.

It is, perhaps, not generally known that the French, no, not in all their diſtreſſes, ever relinquiſhed this undertaking.—When the Cones, thoſe immenſe machines, the dimenſions of whoſe frames were little inferior to the diameter of the rotunda of Ranelagh, were laid aſide, from their expenſe, and the inventor, M. Des Charts, the engineer, was diſmiſſed, it was diſcovered that a port might be formed at a leſs coſt, and a mound raiſed againſt the ſea, merely by ſinking a great quantity of looſe ſtones. This plan has ſince been carried on, while Cherbourg has been ſtrengthened by fortifications, which the French have conſidered to be impregnable.

This formidable undertaking was, ſome years ago, regarded by the late Lord Rodney, as a powerful engine in future wars, and, like the Trojan horſe, pregnant with miſchief to the ſafety of Great Britain and her naval ſuperiority: its deſtruction, therefore, would be highly pleaſing to every well-wiſher to his country, and be an eminent proof of the wiſe precaution and timely foreſight of our rulers.

On

On general grounds, however, without adverting to particular intereſts, every friend to humanity muſt wiſh well to the combination againſt France, if it ſhould be conducted with wiſdom and juſtice. Aſſuredly the ſun never ſhone upon a nobler cauſe; it is not the cauſe of a day, of a year, or of any given period; the moſt remote poſterity will be affected by the iſſue of this conteſt, and bleſs the reſtorers of order and good government in Europe. It is too true, however, that the operations of the Allied Powers may be checked, from thoſe principles of diſunion which always predominate in great and numerous aſſociations: that their labours will be Herculean, may well be ſuppoſed; but then, like Hercules, they will conſecrate, in the true records of Fame, their generous exertions, in purging the earth from a generation of monſters.

No. 32.

No. 32. SATURDAY, *Auguſt* 24, 1793.

Monſtrum à vitiis nullâ virtute redemptum.

JUVENAL.

WHILE the French appeared deſirous to reform their government, to introduce a limited monarchy, and a rational ſyſtem of liberty, ſimilar to our own, they had many well-wiſhers in this country; nor did they altogether forfeit their good opinion, while they preſerved even the ſemblance of regard to genuine freedom: it was then, and then only, that England, with the reſt of Europe, became hoſtile and exaſperated againſt them, when, under the maſk of liberty, they had eſtabliſhed a real ſyſtem of deſpotiſm.

The only Conſtitution founded upon true principles of freedom, is that where laws predominate, the juſt arbiters between the higheſt and the loweſt, between the prince and the beggar, ſimilar to that ſyſtem which predominates in this country; where this principle does not prevail, where the people are ſubjected to the whim and caprice of one or more of their fellow-citizens, the government is arbitrary; but in France, laws no longer exiſt, and the

fall

fall of every man depends upon the whim and caprice of a lawleſs multitude; therefore France is at this moment under a deſpotic government.

The tendency of the preſent confuſion in France leads ſtill, however, to inveſt one perſon with the ſovereign power; and thoſe who are beſt informed in French politics, ſuppoſe that the Orleans faction, that leaven of unrighteouſneſs, is the principal cauſe of unceaſing fermentation. Conſtitutions have ſucceeded each other like leaves, and that reſtleſs people have changed their ſyſtems of government as they have their modes and faſhions, with the ſeaſons; but the partiſans of the great Incendiary are ſuppoſed to be true to his intereſt, to prepare the way for his advancement, that that ſordid reptile may thus creep through foul and crooked ways to ſovereign power, under the deluſive deſignation of Equality.

It is certain, however, whether it be the intention of ſome men to avail themſelves of a political ſtorm, to acquire office and emolument, or, from the love of novelty, the deſire of change, and that reſtleſſneſs of diſpoſition to which men are too often ſubjected, that French principles have found partiſans in this country; and that a war, where the French have been the aggreſſors, has been condemned as wanton and unneceſſary, and productive of no good conſequences to the Britiſh empire.

But to preſerve, is to acquire; and here it may be aſked, whether the preſent war may not have prevented ſerious attacks from our ancient enemies, and preſerved our Conſtitution entire and inviolate; ſince the wanton aggreſſions of the French againſt us and our allies have manifeſted their deſigns to the world. Do we admire the wiſe inſtitutions of our anceſtors, which have made this country pre-eminent in Europe? Do we applaud the meliorating principle of our Conſtitution? or, in plainer terms, the power and tendency which has prevailed ſince 1688, to correct its abuſes, to remedy thoſe faults, defects, and injuries of time, which are incidental to every human inſtitution; and are we now to liſten, not to the enlightened philoſopher, but to the arrogance of the refuſe of the French populace, to their deſigns to impoſe their own whims and reforms upon us, under the odious name of fraternity?

The war aſſuredly preſents two objects, at leaſt, to our view, in which the future ſafety of this country may be intimately concerned; namely, the demolition of the port of Dunkirk and the works of Cherbourg. Having enlarged upon thoſe ſubjects, in an Eſſay of the 16th inſt. I ſhall now only briefly remark, that the former object was ſtipulated, in the ſtrongeſt manner, by the tenth article of the Treaty of

of Utrecht; the ſpirit and deſign of which has hitherto been artfully evaded; and that Dunkirk would now probably be an eaſy conqueſt, as it was to Mareſchal Turenne, in 1658, if the poſts of Favres, Bergues, and Maerdyk, and the communication with Gravelines, ſhould be ſecured in time, as they were by him, and the environs of Dunkirk preſerved from inundation.

Nay, more, if the whole French frontiers in Flanders were conquered, and ceded to the Emperor, it would ultimately tend to the ſafety of our allies, and the tranquillity and peace of Europe: thoſe fortreſſes were originally veſted in the Houſe of Auſtria, and guaranteed by our anceſtors, till they were wreſted from them by Louis the XIVth, and theſe conqueſts were confirmed by the fickleneſs and ſervility of Charles the Second, at the Treaty of Nimeguen, as is ſufficiently manifeſt from Sir William Temple's negociations.

On whatever ſide we look, in whatever light we conſider the ſubject, the future peace and tranquillity of the ſurrounding States depend upon the iſſue of the preſent conteſt; nor can any nation, or the liberties and properties of any country be ſafe, while principles worſe than thoſe of the piratical States of Barbary predominate in the center of Europe.

Of

Of all the periods in modern hiſtory, that which bears the neareſt reſemblance, perhaps, to the preſent *criſis*, was the *thirty* years war which preceded 1648, the memorable epoch of the Treaty of Weſtphalia.

In that celebrated pacification, all Europe almoſt interfered, and their negociations and arrangements are now regarded as the great charter of the empire, and the bulwarks of the liberties of Germany.

The conduct of the Allied Powers, at that juncture, affords a memorable example, and the nobleſt precedent to the preſent combination againſt France.

Happy, indeed, will it be for humanity and the repoſe of Europe, if they ſhould tread in their ſteps, and emulate the conduct of the Powers who formed that treaty; and by beſtowing a rational ſyſtem of freedom upon ſo large a portion of their fellow-creatures, and reſcuing them from the ſorrows and phrenzy of Democracy, by a juſt, rational, ſubordinate, and equitable Conſtitution in France.

So ſhall they ſecure their own permanency and their own privileges, while they ſhall deſerve the genuine praiſe of poſterity for their diſintereſted exertions. Thus ſhall their faireſt and nobleſt ambition be gratified, in emulating

the conduct of the Supreme Being, who extracted order from jarring elements, and formed the system of the universe from chaos and anarchy.

No. 33.

No. 33. TUESDAY, *September* 3, 1793.

——— Immedicabile vulnus
Enſe recidendum eſt, ne pars ſincera trahatur.

OVID.

IT ſeems to be the peculiar deſcription of thoſe who have taken the lead in France, that their profeſſions and their conduct, their words and their actions, are continually at variance. It is natural for men who have read their declarations only, to be prejudiced in their favour—but it does not require much information to decide, that while they talk of liberty, they mean to eſtabliſh their own deſpotiſm; and while they profeſs that the public ſafety is the ſupreme law, they deſign to raiſe fortunes for themſelves from the proſcription of their fellow-citizens, and build their own ſecurity upon the perſecution of every man diſtinguiſhed by birth, by talents, or merit, in that devoted country.

Never, aſſuredly, was ſuch a game ſo flung away, never was any parallel to be found in hiſtory for the conduct of the clumſy agitators of France. It is certain, and one or two circumſtances at moſt will prove it, that they loſt an opportunity, and that they had it at one pe-

riod completely in their power to render their country reſpectable in the eyes of Europe, by the entire liquidation of their national debt; nor does the proof require an intricate calculation.

The firſt evidence of wiſdom in a State, as it is in the caſe of an individual, is the payment of debts contracted by the improvidence of their predeceſſors. This the French were enabled to accompliſh at one period, about three years ago: their national debt was computed, by Mr. Neckar, at two milliards,* while the value of the church lands was eſtimated at three milliards of French livres. Had they, therefore, conſigned the church lands to the payment of their debts, had they divided them amongſt the public creditors, and ſtopped the payment of the intereſt upon this dividend, they would have acted like a wiſe and honeſt man, who ſells part of his lands, when he cannot command money to ſatisfy his creditors; the dividend would, after ſome temporary difficulties, been eaſily effected, as the principles of the meaſure would have been founded in reaſon and juſtice. France would have had the revenues of the State clear, and adequate even to extraordinary demands, and enjoyed the ſuper-eminent advantage of being

* A milliard is a thouſand millions.

freed

freed from burthens to which almoſt every ſtate in Europe is now unfortunately ſubjected.

But inſtead of this obvious courſe, aſſignats were deviſed by Mirabeau, as a meaſure by which peculation might predominate: the national debt was increaſed, by the State ſubjecting itſelf to the indemnification of thoſe who had bought certain offices, and charges for penſions upon the public revenues; the taxes were ſuffered to run in arrear, and the State ſubſiſted, for its current demands, upon the anticipated ſale of the church patrimony.

Another capital error was, that the French had not recourſe to the ancient eſtabliſhment of the States General, and to their reſtoration in the form in which they laſt met in 1614: according to that arrangement, the nobility, clergy, and the people, were repreſented by four hundred and eighty members, three, or more, of whom were repreſentatives for one diſtrict; a mode of repreſentation which is to be found in the Parliament of Scotland before the union; and which, according to the noble tranſlators of the *Franco Gallia*, is, probably, the form of the Parliaments in almoſt all the countries of Europe. Thus all the whimſical, annual variations which have obtained the formation of new conſtitutions, would have been avoided, and permanence would have ſuperſeded change and uncertainty.

Had France, in a word, reſtored her ancient conſtitution, and paid off her national debt, both of which I contend were completely in her power, Europe would have approved her laudable exertions, inſtead of execrating, as they do at preſent, the Gallic uſurpers, for their unprecedented crimes, wanton cruelty, and ſyſtematic profligacy, while they laugh at their folly, in deſtroying that juſt gradation and neceſſary ſubordination, without which no State can ever exiſt, or acquire permanence or ſtability.

Apprehenſions, however, have been entertained, by juſt minds and moderate men, of the aſcendant or complete ſucceſs of either party; that the Republicans might eſtabliſh the extreme of licentiouſneſs---the Monarchiſts the extreme of deſpotiſm; upon which extenſive ſubject the limits of this Eſſay will admit of only one ſhort obſervation.

It is a principle in mathematics, and the well-known law of projectiles, that a body impelled by two forces obeys neither altogether, but moves in the diagonal, or, in plainer terms, in a line between two extremes.

If a political metaphor may be derived from a mathematical principle, the public mind in France, to carry on the parody, at one time impelled by Republican principles, and ſoon after, the Councils of that nation being directed by the reſtorers of monarchy, the energy of the

country may follow neither principle implicitly, but find a due mean and repoſe in a moderate, temperate, ſubordinate, and limited conſtitution.

In whatever manner, however, the termination of the preſent French anarchy is effected, it will be highly beneficial not only to themſelves, but to ſurrounding nations. While every ſummer generates a ſyſtem more monſtrous than the preceding Government, (if ſuch it can be called) while confuſion becomes worſe confounded, while a mere principle of plunder pervades all its inſtitutions, and animates the French Democracy, holding out ſuch incitements to riot and diſorder, with ſuch plauſible doctrines to the vulgar and ignorant, woe be to thoſe States which border upon this deſtructive and pernicious power!

Nay, even to thoſe who are removed from its immediate influence, the contagion may only be delayed for a ſhort time, ſince principles like the French operate as the peſtilence, acquire force by time and diſtance, and, like the torrent, widen the ſtream of their influence in proportion to their progreſs.

What portion of conqueſt may check the French malady and its influence of Europe, or in what manner the malady may be extin-

guiſhed, far ſurpaſs the conjectures of plain and ordinary men. If that part of Flanders which was wreſted by the tyranny of Louis the XIVth from the Houſe of Auſtria, ſhould be reſtored to the Emperor, if Rouſſillon ſhould be given back to Spain, and Savoy re-inſtated in her ancient limits, perhaps thoſe ceſſions might ſerve as ramparts to the reſt of Europe, and draw lines on the frontiers of thoſe States againſt the peſtilence.

The argument, or rather declaration, that might be uſed on that occaſion, is, that England would waſte her blood and treaſure on theſe conqueſts, ſolely for the aggrandizement of other States; but it ſhould be remembered that the States in queſtion might, and ought to indemnify her, by advantageous commercial alliances; that the preſent *criſis* affords opportunities of making commercial arrangements with Spain, more advantageous than any ſince our firſt Treaty of Commerce with her in 1667; and a Treaty with the Houſe of Auſtria, relative to our trade in Flanders, ſimilar to that which was in contemplation, and ought to have taken place ſoon after the Treaty of Utrecht.

But, after all, theſe are but remote conjectures, and uncertain ſpeculations upon the objects of the war, its tendency and termination: one, and only one apology, can be made for them,

them, by the writer of these Essays, founded on the strictest truth, which will hereafter bear the test of inquiry, and the severest examination, namely, that they proceed from one who has ever been animated by a regard for public welfare and the sincerest wishes for the prosperity of his country.

No. 34.

The three following Eſſays on the French Theatre were written in the months of October and November, 1788; as they are preparatory to Nos. 37 and 38, on the ſame ſubject, it is preſumed that the inſertion of them in this place will not be deemed improper.

No. 34. THURSDAY, *October* 9, 1788.

Tota natio, comœdia eſt.

JUVENAL.

THE French Theatre at Paris is inſulated; there is a paſſage wide enough for three carriages round it: it reſembles the Temple of Concord in Stow Gardens; and a beautiful portico, ſupported by Corinthian pillars, ſurrounds it. The number of tickets commenſurate to the extent of the theatre are limited to 2300, as is reported. When this number is exhauſted, no perſon is allowed to enter; and there is an interdiction at the office, which is placed at the outſide of the building, ſo that the paſſages are never crowded by idlers and box-lobby loungers.

gers. There are about ten convenient *entrées* under the portico—by theſe means, there are no inconveniences from a greater number than the houſe will commodiouſly contain.

The theatre itſelf is ſemicircular; the boxes and galleries are not ſupported by pillars, but projected from the wall; the compartments in the boxes, or galleries, hold only ſix perſons, two and two behind each other; the ſeats are wide, and ſo elevated, that no obſtruction ariſes from the modern miracle which the ladies have effected, "by taking thought to add a cubit to their ſtature." Below the boxes, which are conſiderably raiſed, is an amphitheatre, which anſwers to our galleries, of two rows; the *parterre*, or pit, is quite level; of this three rows are railed off next the orcheſtra, and the ſeats are at box prices, for the accommodation of gentlemen. The ſtage is ſo much elevated, that no inconvenience enſues from the lower part of the houſe being on a level.

It is difficult to ſay which part of the houſe is beſt for hearing and ſeeing, inſomuch that people of faſhion generally occupy the ſecond or third row of boxes, which ſpace, in our theatres, is occupied by the middle and upper galleries.

The theatre is lighted by *one* immenſe central branch, ſuſpended near the cieling by a very ingenious copper rope, and the light is reflected from

from a mirror of French plate, or *reverbère*, as it is called, the uſe of which ſeems not to be generally known in this country.

Livery ſervants are not allowed to keep places in the boxes; ſome of them are hired annually, others taken for the night by a lady or gentleman, who pay the whole price beforehand, and receive only *one* ticket for each box. This circumſtance is ſomewhat odd, and I fear it will be difficult to be explained.

This ſingle ticket is divided into ſix compartments, which are marked thus: Box 1, No. 1, No. 2, and ſo on. The lady to whom the box belongs cuts the paper into the different tickets, which admit the bearers into the appropriated box: by theſe means, the ſpectators are fixed for the night; and they do not fidget about from the back rows, from one box to another, as in our theatres, and continually interrupt the performance; and all impertinent noiſe is huſhed and quelled by the audience.

The lobbies, corridores, and ſtairs, are either of ſtone or brick, girded with wood, which prevents noiſe. The two former are warmed with ſtoves.

There is no theatrical Manager; all is under the direction of ſome officer, appointed by the Court. The profits are divided amongſt the players, in certain proportions. Theſe are ſome of the regulations which were ſo much approved

proved by the Manager of the Dublin theatre, the late Mr. Sheridan.

The French theatre, like our own, is much declined of late years. *Molé* and *Mademoiſelle Contades* are, it is true, ſuperior to any thing we poſſeſs in the line of genteel comedy; but *La Rive*, who came the neareſt to our admirable Siddons, is lately retired, and *Préville*, the Garrick of French comedy, alſo. The exquiſite and inimitable *Country Girl* appears without a rival, or a parallel, at home or abroad.

A very judicious hint appeared in a Morning Print, propoſing Marmontel's Tales as ſubjects and plots to our playwrights; but ſimple tranſlation from the French theatre would certainly ſucceed upon our ſtages---witneſs the Wanton Wife, tranſlated by that great actor, Mr. Betterton, from Moliere's *George Dandin*; Garrick's Guardian, from *La Pupille* of *Deſtouches*; the Diſtreſt Mother, from *Racine*, and Hill's Zara, which are all literal tranſlations; and that beſt of our modern comedies, Burgoyne's HEIRESS, which is certainly written upon a French model, though it does not derogate from the delight that every man of taſte receives from the repreſentation of that charming original, and moſt admirable comedy.

The theatre forms a moſt rational delight to every enlightened country; under proper regula-

regulations, it is one of the beſt ſchools for elegance, perhaps even for virtue and morality, though prevailing taſte for private plays will, it is to be hoped, give a gracefulneſs and manner to our public ſpeakers, the want of which is ſo obvious, and ſo much to be lamented.

Certain it is, that the Nobleman whoſe name appears foremoſt at Richmond Houſe, has an excellent delivery, and a pleaſing manner of ſpeaking; nor would candour, which will not vulgarly deny merit to any man, becauſe he happens to be a Lord, ſtop here; but if Lord Derby thought proper to exert himſelf again with the ſame induſtry and information that he diſplayed in his prompt replies to the formidable Preſident of a great aſſembly, upon the affairs of Ireland, it would certainly place him in the firſt claſs of public ſpeakers.

For my own part, I never gain admittance through the favour of the gallery door-keepers, my old friends, Pierſon and Baker, into the Houſe of Commons, that I do not think of the remark of a French traveller, who ſaw the great former rival orators ſpeak, without underſtanding the language, when Lord North and Mr. Fox were oppoſed on the ſubject of the American war; that they appeared, while the clerks boxes reſounded with repeated ſtrokes of eloquence, like intellectual prize-fighters, and,

from

from the uniform extenſion of their right arm and right leg, he imagined they had been fencing againſt each other acroſs the table.

No. 35.

No. 35. SATURDAY, *October* 25, 1788.

Tota natio, comœdia eſt.

JUVENAL.

MY haſty ſketch of the French Theatre having met with a more favourable reception than I expected, has induced me to trouble you with a few ſupplementary remarks.

Spectators are admitted into the French theatre, at Paris, by either taking ſingle tickets at the exterior office, or by thoſe taken at an office for whole boxes, which is open from eight to ten in the morning: theſe are checked at an office in the lobby---the firſt by countermarks, the latter by taking a piece off the corner, and both are received by the box-keepers, who open the boxes.

Thus the receipt of the theatre is trebly checked, and the audience is benefited by it at the ſame time.

The central branch, which illuminates the whole theatre, does not intercept the view in the upper part of the houſe, for it is lighted with *argants*, or, as we call them, patent lamps, which conſume the ſmoke, and are cloſe to the *reverbère*, or mirror of French plate, which is attached to the cieling.

Theſe

Theſe *reverberès* are uſed in the common lamps in Paris, and produce a vaſt effect. The lamps, which are ſuſpended 20 feet high, in the middle of the ſtreets of Paris, are upwards of 200 feet aſunder---a ſpace which, in London, would demand a vaſt quantity of our expenſive glow-worms. Paris is not ſo magnificently lighted as London; but it is certain that a letter can be read in a coach in the middle of the ſtreets in Paris, which is not the caſe in London. The front of the French ſtage is lighted in a very glaring and offenſive manner, which the performers complain of much. The patent lamps are only pleaſing, when placed above the level of the eye---otherwiſe they are very diſagreeable to the ſight, and become, in Milton's phraſe, "dark from exceſſive light."

The principal difference between the French theatre and ours is this---that that part of the audience which occupy our ſecond and third galleries are ſeated in the pit, or *parterre*, in the French theatres; nor have they a noiſy and turbulent upper gallery, to interrupt the performers. The late Mr. Sheridan was ſo ſenſible of this advantage, that he contrived to get rid of the upper gallery in a very whimſical manner. It was elegantly fitted up and divided into boxes, at pit prices. This regulation obtained in Dublin for a winter, in 1754-5, but afterwards the mobility got poſſeſſion of their old habi-

tation, and enjoy the ſatisfaction of making more noiſe there than is heard in any other theatre.

The coaches are rigorouſly compelled to go one way; and if a carriage of a Prince of the blood ſhould be announced, and he ſhould not be ready, it would be ordered to drive round, and come after all the reſt, in its due rotation.

Such regulations as theſe may ſeem too rigorous for a free country; but miſerable muſt their notions be, who can ſuppoſe that an atom of Engliſh freedom would be leſſened by preventing ſome drunken ſavages from making a noiſe in the upper gallery, or prohibiting coachmen from deſtroying their horſes and carriages, by driving point blank againſt one another, at the entrance of our theatres.

The French actors generally enter and retire from the back of the ſtage; and whenever the ſcene repreſents a room, there is a door in the back ſcene. This, at firſt, appears formal, but if the ſtage is a repreſentation of life, it is ſurely more conſonant to reality, ſince there are no lateral apertures in domeſtic architecture or in common rooms, like thoſe formed by the ſide ſcenes.

In tragedies, they generally fall upon ſophas, and in combats, the vanquiſhed retreats and falls often between the ſide ſcenes; and in gene-

ral

ral all theatrical butcheries are avoided, or the horrors much leſſened; and Horace's rule, that Medea ſhould not deſtroy her children before the audience, is rigidly obſerved.

Women are never traveſtied into men on the French ſtage—though they may appear diſguiſed as men, in the courſe of a female part. Women certainly never appear to advantage as men---a beautiful female degenerates into a male dwarf. Strength of body and of feature conſtitute comelineſs in a man---nothing can be more diſguſting and nauſeous to a Britiſh audience, than the cargo of inſignificance, contained under the figure of an effeminate ſpark, or a pretty man. Theſe performances may pleaſe for once, like juggler's tricks, becauſe it is proved that they can be performed. Mrs. Woffington's ſucceſs in Wildair has entailed the character in a female line; but aſſuredly the admired actreſs who has gained that applauſe in male repreſentation, would gain ſtill greater admiration by the extenſion of her powers in ſuch characters as Beatrice, Belinda, Portia, Mrs. Sullen, Maria, in the Citizen, Harriet, in the Guardian, and Letitia, in the Belle's Stratagem.

From theſe regulations there is no neceſſity for livery-ſervants to keep places---probably from their admiſſion, ſome former inconvenience has been much felt; for at the end of all

French play-bills there is this order---" *La* " *livrée n'entre point même en payant*---Livery-ſer- " vants are not admitted, though they ſhould " pay for their admiſſion."

The roof of the French theatre is conſtructed in a very curious manner; the loft, which is formed by the planks which conſtitute the ceiling, is covered with leather hides, accurately nailed, and cloſely compacted: the reaſon given for this odd contrivance is to prevent the evaporation of the voice through the crevices; whether it be owing to this, or to the form of the building, the voice is certainly more audible in this theatre, though much larger, than in any of our play-houſes in London.

Half price is not received in the French theatre, nor is any money returned; ſuch of the audience as may come late are accommodated by repreſenting the farce before the play: but this is only the caſe (it is ſuppoſed) upon the repreſentation of a comedy. The French plays begin always, even when the Royal Family come, at half paſt five, and end a little after eight; there is an appropriated box for them, which is never fitted up for the occaſion: the King ſeldom comes, but the Queen often comes after the commencement of the play.

The corridores which ſurround the galleries are floored with brick, and ſo narrow that no perſons can aſſemble there: the room for retiring

tiring to, between the intervals of the play and farce, which is called the *Foyer*, is at the corner of the building, and far removed from the corridores.

Not only in Paris, but at Bourdeaux, there are theatres built upon this plan, and without pillars, like the *Comédie Françoiſe*.

Annexed to the rooms at the German Spa is a theatre upon this model, which, by means of an occaſional platform over the pit, accommodates the company on ball-nights. In our watering-places there are generally two ſets of rooms and a theatre, detached from each other, when one building might anſwer every purpoſe of public entertainment. In this reſpect, our watering-places ſeem to have borrowed their ideas, not from our Continental, but from our Hibernian neighbours, where economy in public buildings is rejected, as unbecoming the arrangements of gentlemen, where expenſive and fruitleſs projects are patronized, if they are ſufficiently expenſive, and where impracticability has its ſecret admirers, becauſe it muſt neceſſarily be accompanied with idle waſte, and fruitleſs expenſe.

Whether ours, or the model of the French theatre is beſt---whether there is ſuch a thing as a ſtandard for taſte, I cannot decide---the forms of the Etruſcan vaſes, and other particularities of the precious remnants of Rome, and of the

Herculanean diſcoveries, are to be traced at preſent in our common utenſils, in the ornaments of our houſes, and poſſibly in ſome diſpoſitions of our public buildings; and probably they will receive no further improvement. The French theatre certainly has derived, in its conſtruction, many advantages from the ſhape of the modern and ancient theatres in Italy, and more particularly from the *Maiſon Quarrée*, and the ſuperb Roman amphitheatre, which has lately been cleared by the Archbiſhop of Narbonne, at the deſire and expenſe of the French King, at Niſmes, in Languedoc.

No. 36. FRIDAY, *November* 14, 1788.

Tota natio, comœdia eſt.

JUVENAL.

THE French Theatre is ſo copious a ſubject, that it is not eaſy to limit ſpeculations, or to quit criticiſms upon their drama; and I am tempted to intrude once more upon an indulgent public, by a few more obſervations.

An inſulated theatre, a limited number of tickets, and of ſpectators commenſurate to its ſize, conſtruction rendering all parts of it equally eligible for hearing and ſeeing, prevention of noiſe, by ſtone and brick ſtaircaſes and lobby and corridore floors, of admiſſion of livery ſervants by tickets appropriated to each box, of obſtructions to ſight, by removal of pillars, by a light equally diffuſed, and by a central branch near the ceiling, and far above the level of any of the ſpectators eyes, regulations of coaches advancing in one direction, in due rotation, and placing the lower claſs of ſpectators in the pit, where noiſe and riot may be eaſily obſerved, and therefore eaſily checked and obviated---upon theſe diſpoſitions I have expatiated in my former letters, of the 9th and 24th

of October: they muſt be acknowledged to be deſirable in ours and in every other theatre.

The patent lamps which are ſo much uſed in public aſſemblies, in London and Paris, are judiciouſly placed, in the latter, above the level of the eye; for, when they meet our ſight, the glare is intolerably offenſive; and an eminent phyſician, of great learning and deſervedly of the higheſt credit and eſtimation, is ſaid to have pronounced theſe lamps to be very dangerous and deſtructive to the ſight: thoſe, therefore, who are intereſted in their ſale, ſhould obviate pernicious conſequences, which may, at a future day, give univerſal diſcredit to that invention, by elevating them far above the level of our eyes, and thereby imitate nature, and the all-wiſe diſpoſitions of the Divine Architect, who has placed the great lamp which illuminates our planetary ſyſtem far above us, and never ſuffers it to appear upon a level with our eyes, unleſs its rays are ſoftened by the miſts and exhalations of the morning and evening.

After Voltaire's tragedies, the moſt admired pieces upon the French ſtage are, *Inues de Caſtro*, *Gaſton & Bayard* of *Belloy*, and *Wenceſlas*; moſt of the former are already tranſlated, and juſtly admired upon our ſtage: his Tancred, and his Orphan of China differ materially from ours; and I cannot help preferring them to the tragedies of the ſame name of Thomſon and Murphy.

phy. *Gaſton* and *Bayard* is their moſt favourite tragedy, founded upon the ſtory of the *Duke of Nemours*, who fell, aged 22, at the battle of Ravenna, with the character of the firſt conqueror and General of his age, and of *Bayard*, ſo renowned in the annals of chivalry. *Wenceſlas* is founded upon the ſtory of the Emperor, who was prevailed upon to pardon his ſon for a murder, but voluntarily reſigned the crown, which he conceived himſelf unworthy to wear after this act of partiality. Both of theſe, it is conceived, would have great ſucceſs, if properly adapted to the Engliſh ſtage, as well as moſt of Belloy's pieces.

General battles are ſeldom or never introduced on the French ſtage, though they are very fond of repreſentation of the legal duels of the feudal times, which admit of theatrical repreſentation—nor is the fancy ſtrained to ſuppoſe great hoſts and armies deciding a battle in a moderate ſized room—a repreſentation which often gives a ridiculous turn to the concluſion of ſome of our beſt tragedies.

From the favourite tragedy above-mentioned has lately ſprung a comedy, *Les Amours de Bayard*. This is pleaſing, from a ſtrict repreſentation of ancient manners. After this, the moſt favourite comedies are—*Le Diſſipateur*, the Prodigal; *Le Somnambule*, or the Sleep-walker; *Le Grondeur*, or the Scold; *L'Avengle Clairvoyant*, or

or the Blind Man, who is whimſically ſuppoſed to ſee clearly; *La Coquette Corrigée*, the Corrected Coquette, a moſt charming comedy; *Le Fou Raiſonable*, the Reaſonable Fool, an admirable farce, ridiculing our countrymen for what the French call their *Angliciſms*, or, in plainer terms, for ſuicide. All theſe, it is conceived, would have, if properly tranſlated, the greateſt ſucceſs upon our ſtage.

The applauſe of the French theatre is more ſanguine than ours—if a new play is condemned, it is rather by withholding of plaudits, than by a noiſy condemnation, or by broken interrupted clapping of hands, which may not unaptly be called an ironical applauſe. A very pleaſing ceremonial I have often ſeen with great pleaſure, upon the approbation of a new piece; the audience call for the author, who is introduced at the back of the ſtage, between two capital actors, to receive a public teſtimony in perſon of their approbation; and I have ſeen Mr. *Ducis*, who had tranſlated King Lear, receive this pleaſing reward of his labours.

Doubling is the general practice of the French ſtage. This term is ſo well known, from Burgoyne's Heireſs, that it needs no farther explanation. Each favourite play has two ſets of actors. With us, a favourite part is monopolized during the life of a favourite actor; and yet it was by the tranſgreſſion of this

rule

rule that Cibber roſe from the Chaplain in the Orphan, to the firſt eminence in comedy and tragedy; and that Quin, who alſo roſe from inferior repreſentation, performed that part in the life of Booth, the original Cato, when he was hailed by the audience with---" Booth outdone!"

The repreſentations at Verſailles and Fontainbleau may render this neceſſary in France, as our former theatrical repreſentations at Whitehall, and in later times, at Hampton Court, might have neceſſitated the ſame cuſtom here. The laſt of theſe courtly exhibitions, according to Cibber, was at Hampton Court, when the late Emperor was in England---juſt before he quitted the ſtage, in 1733---as the repreſentation of Cato, in 1712, was the laſt theatrical exhibition in that maſter-piece of Sir Chriſtopher Wren's, the Theatre at Oxford.

The ſtage in the French theatre projects in the form of a ſegment of a circle, which gives great advantage to repreſentation. According to Cibber, this was the form of Drury Lane, as it was planned by Sir Chriſtopher Wren, in the laſt century; and he blames the Managers much for altering the original form, to add a trifle to the receipts. From the limits of that theatre, as the boxes were bounded formerly by the interior row of pillars, Drury Lane muſt have undergone many changes, and more particularly

cularly as Cibber mentions that, during his management, a report of the dangerous ſtate of that building had thinned their audiences, and that they were obliged to ſatisfy the public by an inſpection and teſtimony from the Board of Works.

A great inconvenience reſults from heat in the French play-houſe, from the cloſeneſs of the roof, and it is not uncommon for the pit to call out to open the box doors. Poſſibly this inconvenience might be remedied by ventilators in the ſide walls of that building.

A great decorum prevails in all the French play-houſes. I have ſeen the pit cry out when an Engliſhman kept his hat on in the ſide-boxes, which pleaſed me much, as I could never account for the abſurd and impolite inconvenience which men muſt put themſelves to by a warm incumbrance upon their heads in crowded aſſemblies; and the ſtory is well known of a Frenchman aſking an Engliſhman, who coughed loud, if the actreſs upon the ſtage had diſpleaſed him. The Engliſhman, who happened luckily to be polite and well-bred, and not one of our country ſquires, replied, "No;" but that the truth was, that he was troubled with a very bad cold, and that if it was offenſive to the audience, he ſhould readily go out. This might be carrying the matter too far; but, after all, I cannot help wiſhing, with Cibber, that our countrymen,

who are ſo fond of importing their tawdry garniture, would endeavour to bring back with them a portion of French theatrical politeneſs.

The receipt of the French theatre muſt be conſiderable—2300 tickets are the limited number which are iſſued. The firſt row of boxes and three rows of the pit are at our prices, ſix livres, or five ſhillings; the middle boxes, which anſwer to our galleries, at four livres, or three ſhillings and four-pence; and the pit at two livres, or twenty-pence. As there are no paſſes from players, orders, freedoms of the theatre, ſilver tickets, or half price, it muſt ſurpaſs the receipt of any of our theatres.

The intervals between the acts of French plays are ſhorter than in ours; that between the play and farce is much longer---when the gentlemen uſually retire to the *foyer*, a room at the corner of the building, elegantly fitted up with buſts of the French dramatic authors---as the entrance is ornamented with a noble ſtatue of Voltaire, by Houdon, a ſtatuary ſculptor, who is deſervedly conſidered there as the firſt of his profeſſion.

I have already mentioned that the glare from the lamps in the front of the French ſtage is much complained of. This is an inconvenience in our theatres; but it is conceived it could be very eaſily remedied, as a triple portion of light might be communicated from the ſide walls and

ſide

ſide ſcenes to the ſtage, which would render it more luminous, without any inconvenience to the performers or ſpectators.

The removal of the inconveniences attendant upon our upper gallery muſt be conſidered as a great improvement in the French play-houſe. In Colley Cibber's life, after deriving this nuiſance from a competition between the play-houſes in Lincoln's Inn Fields and Drury Lane, when he came upon the ſtage, in King William's reign, he relates that the Manager of the latter, in order to ingratiate himſelf with their maſters, opened an upper gallery for livery ſervants, gratis. "Before that time (ſays he) they had no admiſſion; and this has generated a nuiſance, which we Managers have had reaſon to lament as the ſcourge of our theatres."

The company of actors at the French theatre at Paris may be ſaid to be under a Republican government. This has been explained before: how ſuch a ſcheme would anſwer here, I cannot gueſs; but this much may be obſerved, that the ſtage was never in ſo flouriſhing a ſtate as during that famous management of twenty years, from 1712 to 1732, under the triumvirate of Wilks, Booth, and Cibber.

A comparative view of this period of theatrical proſperity, with a ſtate of its ſalaries and profits at a ſubſequent period, has lately appeared in your Paper, and it is ſuppoſed to have been

been furniſhed by an admired theatrical Neſtor, who might gratify that public whoſe favourite he has ſo long and ſo juſtly been, with a hiſtory of our ſtage from that period when Cibber took his leave of it.

I quit theatrical ſubjects with regret; the police of the ſtage, in which the French excel ſo much, may deſerve ſome regard another day: theſe regulations are not unworthy of the wiſeſt men, or of the moſt enlightened countries, whatever Collier or the Puritans may have written heretofore againſt it. I have, with many others, received the moſt pleaſing impreſſions of the dignity of human nature from the ſtage, and more particularly from the repreſentations of our late incomparable Roſcius, never too much to be lamented as a man by thoſe who had the happineſs of his acquaintance in the ſphere of private life; nor, as an actor, by that public who, I fear, "will never look upon his like again."

It is only within theſe laſt fifteen years that the French drama has been ſo well accommodated. The old French play-houſe was oblong and inconvenient in every reſpect; a plan of it remains, remarkable only for the repreſentation of a ceremony performed before Voltaire's death, when his ſtatue was crowned upon the ſtage in his preſence, and when he was hailed by the audience as the great patron of the French drama.

Of

Of the preſent theatre, I have never ſeen nor heard of any engraving or deſign: ſome of our eminent artiſts who may viſit that capital, and who may gain the ſame applauſe that Strange has obtained by his engravings of thoſe pictures at Verſailles, which are ſaid to have been bought by Cardinal Mazarin, from the Cabinet of Charles the Firſt, when it was ſold by Cromwell, would not leſſen their reputation by favouring the public with plans of the elevations, ſections, and diſpoſitions of the French theatre at Paris.

No. 37. TUESDAY, *October* 15, 1793.

Transferendo huc, quod uſque egregium fuerat.

TACITUS.

HAVING, in November 1788, troubled you with three Eſſays upon Theatrical Arrangements at Paris, and thoſe remarks being favourably received, I ſhall renew that ſubject, as the French have lately made great improvements in theatrical architecture.

The principal improvements which are common to all the Pariſian theatres are, that they are inſulated, and that the ſtage is wider than the audience part of the play-houſe.

The convenience of the *firſt* principle for commodious entries and *ſorties* is too obvious to dwell upon; the *ſecond* may require ſome explanation, as that arrangement is not to be found in any of our Theatres, and it involves the only prominent defect in Covent Garden.

The ſide ſcenes in the French theatres line with the back, and not the front benches of the ſide-boxes—the conſequence of which is, that the end, or ſtage-boxes, are ſplayed off, and the ſpectators in them ſit obliquely, inſtead of being flanked by a partition, as in our theatres,

and intercepted in their view of the repreſentation; whence they are obliged to ſtand up and lean forward, by which all the ſpectators in the ſide-boxes are incommoded.

Since the building of the National Theatre in 1777-8, the French have made a great improvement in a total ſeparation of the audience part from the ſtage, the front of which projects as the ſegment of a circle; but there are no boxes above or below, nor any ſide doors, as with us, on the ſtage.

When theſe latter are wanting, they are repreſented on the back ſcenes; from whence, in all comedies, and generally in tragedies, the actors enter and retire.

Thus the illuſion is rendered more complete, and the buſtle of the actors being removed from the front, they have not only more room, but no noiſe is heard by the audience behind the ſcenes, which are ſhifted with more eaſe, and without the notice of a bell, which has ſo odd an effect in our theatres.

Theſe laſt improvements are conſpicuous in the new theatres of the *Rue Féydeau*, the theatre *de Moliere rue Bondi*, and in that of the *Palais Royal*.

The *parterre*, or pit, in all the French theatres, is level; but the ſtage being more elevated than with us, the ſpectators ſee perfectly well. The boxes are ſo high, that the pit runs under

them; and, though they muſt be very dark in ſome of their play-houſes, they have what they call *loges grillées*, or latticed boxes, underneath, on the ſame level, generally appropriated to ladies of a certain deſcription.

The galleries, or boxes, in the French play-houſe, are generally thus managed—thoſe at the lower tier, or range, hold ſix, two and two, and the upper ones only four, in the ſame form; the benches are raiſed higher above each other than with us; and the diſtance between each range of boxes, meaſured from the hinder foot-board, is barely ſix feet, by which they have one gallery more, at leaſt, than in our theatres. Had the ſame proportion prevailed in Covent Garden, between them, an upper gallery might have been erected without raiſing the roof, as much room is evidently loſt there, by the great ſpaces between the boxes and the galleries. But, as theſe remarks lead farther than I could wiſh, I ſhall reſerve them for another letter, not wiſhing to occupy a large ſpace in your valuable Paper.

No. 38. WEDNESDAY, *October* 23, 1793.

Tota Natio, Comœdia eſt.

JUVENAL.

AS remarks upon the late improvements in the Pariſian theatres are not to be traced in any journals of travellers, in 1791 and 1792, during a part of which two years I was in Paris, I ſhall reſume the ſubject of my letter of the 15th inſtant.

Probably the attention of travellers was then too much occupied with great political events in that unhappy country, to allow of any obſervations upon minuter concerns; but as the French, while they were civilized, before they degenerated into hords of ſavages, had many elegant accommodations worthy of notice and adoption, I have often had, in an humble line, the deſire of the Roman Poet, to employ my leiſure hours in deſcribing thoſe arts abroad, which might be uſeful to my native country, if I ſhould ſurvive thoſe turbulent ſcenes; it being with me a favourite maxim that men beſt advance their own intereſt by promoting that of others, and conſult their own eaſe and advantage,

tage, while they are labouring to facilitate and promote the accommodation of the public.

The great ſecurity of the French theatres from fire is peculiarly worthy of attention: all the corridores are flagged or tiled, and the ſtair-caſes are ſtone, or brick, girded with wood: the corridores are all plaſtered, and even arched, in ſome of their play-houſes.--- Where it is neceſſary to fit them up ſoon, the walls are not wainſcotted, as in our Opera Houſe, but they cover them, for a ſeaſon, with canvaſs, ſail-cloth, or ſome temporary ſubſtitute.

Corridores thus conſtructed, are not only ſecure from fire, but prevent noiſe alſo; and they are generally warmed with ſtoves, which would be impracticable in our wainſcotted theatres, which are haſtily built upon the ſpur of the occaſion.

In moſt of the French theatres, the firſt range of boxes is about nine feet from the ground, between them and the pit, there is a range, or gallery, of only two rows, without any diviſions, at half the price of the boxes, called the Amphitheatre; and the price of the pit being ſo low as twenty-pence of our money, admits that claſs who, with us, are conſigned to an upper gallery, with more convenience to themſelves and to the public, and with better accommodation.

The three laſt rows of the pit are reſerved for critics, at box prices, and called the Parquets. There is no upper gallery, nor half price, in the French theatres; and all the reſt of the building is divided into galleries, or ranges of boxes, ſome holding ſix, and others only four ſpectators, at different prices, from two to five ſhillings of our money.

The diviſion of the boxes into ſixes and fours, inſtead of nine ſpectators, as with us, is very convenient. Ladies can take the whole boxes for their companies, and ſervants keeping places are rendered unneceſſary, by tickets adapted and numbered for the box, called *copies*, the uſe of which were explained in a former letter.

But as theſe arrangements might lead me beyond my uſual bounds, I ſhall reſerve my ſubſequent remarks for another letter.

Mean time, I cannot help remarking, that inſulating our theatres, as at Paris, would be of more utility than at firſt ſight appears, and of more extenſive accommodation.---Thus, if Drury Lane theatre was inſulated, and no houſes left contiguous to it, half the diſtance between Covent Garden and Lincoln's Inn Fields would be widened; and if the Opera Houſe was inſulated, a ſtreet would be formed parallel to Pall Mall; and the removal of a few houſes only, at the end of Charles Street,

and

and the oppoſite *Cul de Sac*, in King Street, a noble and direct avenue would be made from the middle of St. James's Street, through St. James's Square, to the Hay Market.

No. 39. FRIDAY, *October* 25, 1793.

Deliciæ ſolamenque mali.

VIRGIL.

BESIDES the precautions in the French Theatres againſt fire, by the ſubſtitution of ſtone-work and plaſter for wood, wherever they can be uſed, mentioned in my letter of the 22d of October, there is one arrangement which deſerves peculiar attention.

In moſt of the French theatres there is a well under the ſtage, the only part which muſt neceſſarily be conſtructed of wood, which communicates with iron pumps, from whence water can be forced up to the top of the building; and alſo a body of firemen are kept in conſtant attendance, and paid for that purpoſe, who remain in the houſe till it is emptied, and take precautions againſt every combuſtible remnant.

The offices of receipt, in all the French play-houſes, are at the outſide, and all the departments are meaſured, that a ſufficient number of tickets may be iſſued: when that number is exhauſted, the viſitors are informed, at the door, that there are no more tickets to be had,

had, and conſequently, that there are no places; in the French National Theatre, the number is limited to 2300.

Theſe tickets are, however, checked in an office at the inſide, with compons, or permits for boxes, which are paid for beforehand; which checks are returned to the box-keeper who opens the door; this, and that nuiſance of our theatres, half price, being unknown in Paris, prevents many of thoſe riots and diſturbances ſo common in our play-houſes.

Great care is taken in the French theatres to guard the offices, to prevent all loiterers and pickpockets from crowding round them, and theſe ſeminaries of vice which are too often in the purlieus of our public places, which might be ſo eaſily prevented by the Police in peace, or by a preſs-gang in war.

The great room for the company to retire to, between the acts, in the French theatres, is always placed at one ſide, and at ſome diſtance from the boxes, and not in front, as is uſual in our play-houſes; the corridores round the boxes are freed from noiſe, from crowds, and obſtructions.

The new octagon room in Covent Garden would correſpond with this arrangement, if the narrow apartments in the front were ſhut up, and the interior paſſage was carried round the boxes, which is now obſtructed in the center, as the

the center box holds twelve inſtead of nine, in the other boxes.

All the French theatres are lighted from the center, like Aſtley's Amphitheatre, moſt of the accommodations of which are taken from the French plan; and though it is but an imperfect inſtitution of their theatrical architecture, yet ſtill the public find themſelves better accommodated, and ſee and hear better than in any of our theatres.

Though the entrances into the French theatres are confined to one for each department, on account of the receipt, yet the *ſorties* are more numerous than with us, inaſmuch that I recollect at the National Theatre, that there were upwards of ten doors opened at the end of the play, which was one of the numerous advantages reſulting from its being inſulated; but as this circumſtance might lead me beyond my uſual limits, I ſhall reſerve my remarks for a concluſive letter upon the ſubject.

No. 40.

No. 40. TUESDAY, *October* 29, 1793.

Fas eſt, et ab hoſte doceri.

OVID.

I SHALL reſume the ſubject of my letter of the 25th of October, by remarks upon the order which, before the Revolution was eſtabliſhed, and, till very lately, prevailed in the French theatres, the obliging all carriages to come up in a certain direction, in rotation; and the prevention of coachmen driving point blank againſt each other—a nuiſance too common in our theatres.

It is true that, moſt of their theatres being inſulated, enabled them to accompliſh theſe arrangements with uniform effect; but I cannot help thinking, that if the well-known Road Laws were extended to keep to the left—in plainer terms, if coachmen were obliged to take up and ſet down univerſally, at public places, with the door of the houſe on the whip hand, many of the embarraſſments at our theatres, &c. would be avoided; nor would any other inconveniences ariſe to them or their maſters, than a trifling circuit, and being ſometimes obliged to turn about, in narrow ſtreets.

The

The ornaments of the French theatres are much cheaper than with us, though certainly more elegant. This cheapneſs is cauſed by the paper manufacture, eſtabliſhed about twelve or fifteen years ago, by two Engliſhmen, Meſſrs. Arthur and Roberts, on the Boulevards, by which every ſpecies of architectural order and ornament, freizes, cornices, &c. and every kind of marble, are repreſented in the moſt perfect manner, to appearance, at leaſt, on paper, which ſaves nine parts in ten of the expenſes: in a word, by a manufacture of whoſe perfection and varniſh we have ſcarcely an idea in this country.

Amongſt other public and private buildings, the following theatres at Paris are moſt indebted to this elegant manufacture.

The ornaments of the theatre, which was laſt built by the celebrated Beaumarchais, the author of the *Barbier de Seville*, of *Figaro*, &c. &c. in the *Rue Marais*, at one extremity of Paris, are of grey marble; the internal architecture is Gothic; the pillars are of that order, and every part of the inſide. This play-houſe has been much criticiſed, but certainly it is a very elegant ſtructure.

The theatre of Moliere, in the Rue Bondi, is of yellow or Sienna marble; the boxes are ornamented with mirrors, or looking-glaſſes. The ſhape,

ſhape, diſpoſition, and arrangements of this theatre, have been deſervedly admired.

In the theatre of the *Rue Louvois*, lately built, grey marble predominates; and a gilded balluſtrade on paper, which ſurrounds the galleries, creates much lightneſs and elegance.

But the theatre in the Rue Feydeau is moſt admired; it was built only four years ago: here the marble is *Verd d' Antique*; the pillars are Corinthian, and of Porphyry; and the upper do not overhang, but are behind the lower range of boxes, ſo that there is no projection over the latter, and this has a very happy and elegant effect.

You will ſmile, perhaps, at this diſplay of marbles, of taſte and elegance in the French theatres; but ſince appearances are the objects in queſtion, in this ſpecies of architecture, they anſwer as well in paper repreſentation as thoſe of the moſt ſolid, expenſive, and durable materials.

Inſtead of a curtain, an elegant, emblematical ſcene is uſually ſubſtituted in the French play-houſes: the green curtain, in our theatre, they call, with ſome pleaſantry, perhaps truth, a Drop Mortuaire, ſuch as is uſed in ſtate funerals.

Upon the whole, ſince the French have ſpared no pains in the conſtruction of their theatres, and are as far beyond us in theatrical accommo-

accommodation, as we excel them in almoſt every thing elſe, their arrangements may not be unworthy of our attention.

Perhaps you may think me too minute, and that I have dwelt too long upon ſome of their arrangements: two principles, however, of theatrical architecture deſerve, at leaſt, to be exempted from this deſcription, namely, the inſular conſtruction, and the width of the ſtage beyond the audience part of their theatres.

Some of the rules of the French theatres were tranſcribed in a pamphlet, many years ago, by the late Mr. Sheridan, and recommended by him for the eſtabliſhment of a playhouſe in Dublin, which he thought would give it a ſuperiority even over thoſe of this capital.

I remember alſo to have heard the celebrated comedian, Mr. *Préville*, relate, that when Mr. Garrick viſited Paris in 1764-5, he had often heard him expreſs a wiſh that he could introduce and eſtabliſh ſome of their rules and arrangements in the London theatres.

No. 41. THURSDAY, *October* 31, 1793.

Sua matheſi facem preferente.

NEWTON.

Though the following Eſſay was written upon an abſtract queſtion, that had no relation to the politics of the day, yet it contains ſome very curious materials, and is preſerved here, as it may be of public utility.

WITH whatever pains and labours the inveſtigation may be attended, the diſcovery of truth is moſt delightful. To ingenuous minds, perhaps, the moſt beautiful metaphor in poetry is not accompanied with more ſatisfaction than a mathematical concluſion, founded in perfect truth, though won with the greateſt labour, and acquired with the moſt painful inveſtigation.

Thus we are told, that the ancient Sage, when he had diſcovered that famous propoſition in Euclid, upon which the meaſuring of all diſtances depends, exclaimed, with rapture, that

that he had found what he looked for, at laſt; that truth was great; the daughter of Time; but that it muſt ultimately prevail.

Of all the ſciences, therefore, mathematics muſt be the moſt pleaſing, ſince in them truth appears in its moſt genuine purity: —a ſcience which may be applied to, and improved, by the moſt ordinary occurrences in life; inſomuch, that we are told, that the great philoſopher fell into contemplation upon the ſyſtem of attraction, from the accidental fall of a leaf in his garden; and he is ſaid to have taken a hint, in his inveſtigation of the properties of lights and colours, from certain hues and appearances upon ſoap bubbles, which were the play and amuſement of children.

In the refutation of errors, how much do we owe to mathematical learning! I forget now where I met the remark, in a courſe of miſcellaneous reading, but the obſervation ſeems to me to be juſt, that that ſuperſtition, the belief in ghoſts and apparitions, with which ſome of the firſt characters of the laſt age were ſtained, in common with our great grandmothers and their nurſes, was completely done away by the diſcovery of the true properties of light and colours—by the doctrine, that colours can be reflected only from bodies, and from

from certain qualities in them, to tranſmit different rays of light to the human eye, in certain angles; from whence it followed, that the appearance of an unſubſtantial form was a mere chimera, and a mathematical impoſſibility.

I was led into this train of reflections by ſome articles in your valuable Paper, relative to carriages, and the advantages of different modes of conſtruction, which produced the following obſervations, in which I have laboured to reduce ſome ordinary matters to mathematical preciſion and certainty.

Theſe remarks are at your ſervice, if you ſhould think that I am clear and eaſily underſtood. Aware of the difficulty of the ſubject, I enter into it with doubt; but if not, if I am not accurate and plain, you will conſign my remarks to oblivion, with thoſe of other unſucceſsful projectors.

A very curious and uſeful diſcovery has lately been made—that a carriage, drawn in a ſtrait line, or one, where the traces form an angle of twenty-five degrees with the ground, is as three to four; that it has a fourth part of the power or advantage—in plainer terms, that three horſes, harneſſed in the latter manner, will do the work of four, drawing in a ſtrait line.

Of the proof, or experiment, which I have ſeen actually made, I ſhall riſk the follow-

ing deſcription—I ſay riſk, becauſe nothing is more difficult, than to give a clear account of ſuch experiments, without the aid of a diagram.

If a model of a waggon ſhould be ſet upon a plane, or a board placed obliquely, with a ledge in the middle of it; and tied to a ſtring, paſſing in a direct line, through a wheel or pulley, at one extremity of the board, and the model of ſuch a weight, as to be balanced by twenty-eight ounces, hooked on at the end of the cord---in this caſe, the addition of only one ounce, or even leſs, will ſerve to draw it over the ledge.

But if the ſtring is hooked to the model of the waggon, ſo low as to form an angle of twenty-five degrees with the plane or board, in this latter caſe, twenty-one ounces will ſuffice to draw it over the ledge.

To facilitate this experiment, it is neceſſary that the ounce weights ſhould be ſo contrived that each may be hooked on ſingly to the ſtring.

Taking it for granted that this propoſition is proved, it may be concluded, from this experiment, that three horſes, whoſe traces are placed obliquely, will do the ſame work, and draw as great a weight, as four horſes drawing in a direct line; from whence the following inferences may be deduced:

That the nearer the horſes are to the draft, and the more the number of them that can be made to draw abreaſt, the greater will be the advantage, by one-fourth part of the purchaſe; and farther, it may be laid down as a general rule, that all the horſes in a team ſhould, if poſſible, draw from the ſame tranſom, or point of draft; becauſe every degree of obliquity is an advantage in the draft.

Hence the abſurdity is evident of drawing with four or five horſes in a line, and from the ſhaft ends, as in the London coal waggons; which can only be advantageous in very deep, bad roads, where one horſe may be upon dry ground, while the reſt are ſtruggling in the mire.

And here it may not be amiſs to ſtrengthen theory by experience, and to notice that the French, aware of this advantage, uſe three horſes abreaſt in chaiſes, on their poſt roads which would be, perhaps, the moſt advantageous number, and the beſt mode of draft for waggons alſo; and that their artillery, under Dumourier's command, was mounted upon carriages to which ſix, or more, horſes might be harneſſed abreaſt, in the level country and broad roads of Flanders.

I might carry my remarks ſtill farther—to the improvement of our roads, by a general broad-wheel act, or by lengthening the fore axle-trees, either two or nine inches, as the

caſe may require, beyond the hinder axle-trees, by which the wheels would roll on double ſurfaces.

I think I could prove, that the ſubſtitution of waggons for carts univerſally, would prevent a great conſumption of horſes, and be moſt advantageous; and that theſe improvements would ſave one half, at leaſt, of the repairs of turnpikes, and give us the beſt high and croſs roads in Europe, were I not afraid that I might be thought to lay down rules and anticipate meaſures which may ſoon engage the attention of the Legiſlature.

All that I ſhould now wiſh to dwell upon is this—that drawing with horſes harneſſed obliquely, and abreaſt, as far as is practicable, would ſave a fourth part of the draft horſes now uſed in this country.

And further, to prove, by this familiar application, the utility of mathematical proofs and experiments, ſince the moſt ordinary tranſactions in life, namely, that of the draft and mode of harneſſing horſes, are thus capable of being brought to a ſtandard of perfection, and reduced to a mathematical preciſion and certainty.

FINIS.

LITERARY ASSEMBLY,
OLD BOND STREET.

UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF THEIR ROYAL HIGHNESSES
THE PRINCE OF WALES,
DUKE OF YORK,
DUKE OF CLARENCE,
DUKE OF GLOUCESTER,
HIS HIGHNESS PRINCE WILLIAM FREDERICK,
AND MANY OF THE
PRINCIPAL NOBILITY AND GENTRY.

HOOKHAM,

WHOSE moſt ſtrenuous exertions have been uniformly and unremittedly directed to promote the intereſt of ſociety, by the encouragement and diſſemination of Literature, has, at a very great expenſe, fitted up an elegant ſuite of apartments for the eſtabliſhment of a

LITERARY ASSEMBLY,

which he daily furniſhes with the various publications of this and every foreign country, on all ſubjects; and including all the Periodical and Diurnal Productions of repute to be met with on the Continent, in Great Britain and Ireland, the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, as well as the foreign Gazettes.

His plan having received, independent of particular patronage, the ſanction of the public approbation, and his very reſpectable Liſt of Subſcribers already convincing him that he was not too ſanguine when he projected it, he now preſumes to ſolicit the more immediate attention of Men of Letters and Travellers: it is to ſuch he looks for its ſupport, and from ſuch he hopes for that information which will tend to its perfection. Whatever improvements they may pleaſe to ſuggeſt, ſhall be thankfully adopted.

It is his higheſt ambition to render his Literary Aſſembly a center of general communication, where perſons of curioſity may find the beſt company, the beſt books, the beſt intelligence, with the beſt accommodations. He is confident, that when the ſcale and aim of his plan are fully known, it will be found beneficial to the community at large, and extremely convenient to all who have occaſion to conſult a library, or who wiſh to know the occurrences of the day, as it is the moſt extenſive inſtitution of the kind ever attempted, and as he, though at an age when moſt men claim the privilege of retreating from buſineſs, will not conſider it as complete, till it furniſhes every poſſible aid to Literature, and is deemed as much an honour to his country as his

CIRCULATING LIBRARY,

now for thirty years eſtabliſhed, has been a benefit to it.

Literary Aſſembly.

The Subſcription to the Literary Aſſembly is, for twelve months, Three Guineas; ſix months, Two Guineas; three months, One Guinea and a Half.

Every Annual Subſcriber, not ſignifying his intention to diſcontinue, previous to the expiration of his time, to be deemed a Subſcriber for the year enſuing.

As it is his wiſh to have the company as ſelect as poſſible, none but Subſcribers can be admitted, nor any perſon as a Subſcriber, unleſs introduced by a member, or known to Hookham.

The rooms are opened at ten in the morning, every day, and ſhut at the ſame hour in the evening.

*** No book, pamphlet, or newſpaper, can be allowed to be taken out of the room.

Books publiſhed by Hookham and Carpenter.

A SUMMARY and Philoſophic View of the Genius, Character, Manners, Government, and Politics of the Dutch, 8vo. 4s in boards.

Introduction to the Knowledge of Germany; containing Inquiries into the Diſpoſition and Manners; peculiar Habits and Cuſtoms of the diſtinct Claſſes of Society; Particularities and Anecdotes of their divers Courts and remarkable Perſonages; a View of their Literature and Learning; Improvements in Arts and Sciences; Religious Opinions and ſingular Notions; different Governments, Politics, and Revolutions; with a Variety of other Reſearches, tending to afford a complete Idea of that Country and its Inhabitants, during the latter Ages and at the preſent Time, 8vo. 4s in boards.

Dedicated (by permiſſion) to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales,

An Epitome of the Hiſtory of Europe, from the Reign of Charlemagne, to the beginning of the Reign of George III. By Sir William O'Dogherty, Knight, 8vo. 6s in boards.

Dedicated (by permiſſion) to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Clarence,

A Tour of the Iſle of Wight. Embelliſhed with a ſet of Engravings, conſiſting of Thirty different Views taken on that delightful Spot. The Drawings taken and engraved in Aqua-tinta by J. Haſſell. Elegantly printed in 2 vols. medium 8vo. 1l 11s 6d in boards.

N. B. A few copies are printed on large paper, for the curious.

"The Iſle of Wight has been, long ſince, known as a "ſpot of the moſt luxuriant beauty: it is not ſo gene- "rally underſtood that the abrupt precipices of its weſtern "ſhores, the cliffs and ravines in this neighbourhood, "are ſo truly in the grand ſublime ſtile of beauty, that a "native of Cumberland would find the ſcene almoſt con- "genial to his original feelings.—From the etchings, we "thought ourſelves contemplating the views of this de- "lightful region.—Our Author's obſervations on theſe "cliffs, where he minutely deſcribes what he ſaw, are "truly valuable; and, on the whole, the work is highly "entertaining.—Natural objects, deſcribed with fidelity "and elegance, muſt always intereſt and attract the "reader not rendered faſtidious by faſhion or affected re- "finement."——*Critical Review.*

A Picturesque Guide to Bath, Briſtol Hot Wells, the River Avon, and the adjacent Country. Printed on fine vellum paper, illuſtrated with 16 views, taken and engraved in Aqua-tinta by Ibbetſon, Laporte, and Haſſell; large 8vo. 1l 1s boards. A few ſplendid copies in 4to. with the plates coloured as the original drawings, 2l 8s boards.

"This is a very elegant and pleaſing performance: the "beauty of the typography, and of the prints, is further "recommended by the unaſſuming modeſty and good "ſenſe of the deſcriptions. The environs of Briſtol "are deſcribed with great minuteneſs, and are illuſtrated "with many views. Briſtol Channel, Tintern Abbey, "Chepſtow, &c. furniſh additional ſubjects to this en- "tertaining work, which is among the beſt of the pictu- "reſque deſcription."——*Critical Review.*

Conſtance, a Novel; the firſt literary attempt of a young Lady, 4 vols. 12s ſewed.

" In this artleſs narrative, the incidents are numerous " and ſtriking, the ſituations intereſting and pathetic, " the morality unexceptionable. The ſtory is intricate, " without confuſion, and the miſtakes are explained " without violence. We have felt, in the peruſal, the " Author's power to harrow up the ſoul, or, in turn, " to expand it, by the warmeſt, the moſt benevolent, and " ſocial feelings. In many of theſe reſpects, our young " Lady does not yield to female noveliſts of the higheſt " rank: it is, however, from incidents and ſituations " that our greateſt intereſt and entertainment are derived. " Indeed, we think the author of Conſtance might " make every literary Quidnunc aſhamed of his eager- " neſs after novelty."——*Monthly Review.*

The Pharo's, a Collection of Periodical Eſſays. By the ſame Author, 2 vols. 6s ſewed.

Argus; or, the Houſe Dog of Eadlip. By the ſame Author, 3 vols. 9s ſewed.

" The preſent publication is much ſuperior to moſt of thoſe performances which come under the denomination of *novels*.—The ſtory is ſimply intended to ſhew the fatal effects of a deviation from the paths of rectitude and virtue, although that deviation ſhould be but for a moment; and thence deducing a train of moral reflections and obſervations which evince that the fair writer is imbued with a ſpirit of *philoſophy* and rationality, not always to be met with in her ſex."

Monthly Review.

Arnold Zulig, a Swiſs Story. By the ſame Author, 3s ſewed.

" This is one of thoſe ſtories which we muſt allow to " be well written."——*Monthly Review.*

The Scots Heireſs. By the ſame, 3 vols. 9s ſewed.

Count de Hoenſdern, a German Tale. By the ſame Author, 3 vols. 9s ſewed.

Dedicated (by permiſſion) to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales,

The Baſtard, or Hiſtory of Mr. Greville. By a Lady, 2 vols. 6s bound.

Death's a Friend. By the ſame, 2 vols. 4s ſewed.

The Modern Miniature, a Novel. By a Lady, 2 vols. 6s ſewed.

The Baſtard of Normandy, a Tale on the Banks of the Seine. By the Author of Tancred; a Tale of Ancient Times, 2 vols. 5s ſewed.

Hiſtory of Count Gleichen, a German Nobleman, who had permiſſion from the Pope to marry two Wives at the ſame time, 2s 6d ſewed.

Dedicated (by permiſſion) to her Grace the Ducheſs of Leeds,

The Romance of the Foreſt, fourth Edition. By Mrs. Radcliffe, 3 vols. 9s ſewed.

"The days of chivalry and romance being (alas! as Mr. Burke ſays) for ever paſt, we muſt hear no more of enchanted foreſts and caſtles, dragons, walls of fire, and other "monſtrous and prodigious things;" yet ſtill foreſts and caſtles remain, and it is ſtill within the province of fiction, without over-ſtepping the limits of nature, to make uſe of them for the purpoſe of creating ſurprize. By the aid of an inventive genius, much may ſtill be done, even in this philoſophical age, to fill the fancy with marvellous images and to "quell the ſoul with grateful terrors."

In this way the authoreſs of the Romance of the Foreſt is a firſt-rate performer.—We have not been able to follow her through the rapid ſucceſſion of woody glens, tufted battlements, long-drawn aiſles, and ſcattered fragments of ancient grandeur, without exclaiming—

"How theſe antique towers and vacant courts
"Chill the ſuſpended ſoul, till expectation
"Wears the face of fear."

The principal perſonage of the Romance, Adeline, is a highly intereſting character, whom the writer conducts through a ſeries of alarming ſituations and hair-breadth eſcapes, in which ſhe has very ſkilfully contrived to hold the reader's curioſity continually in ſuſpenſe, and, at the ſame time, to keep his feelings in a ſtate of perpetual agitation. Through the whole of the firſt two volumes, all is buſineſs, hazard, and alarm. Several characters, marked with different degrees of folly, or criminality,

are drawn, with bold and deciſive ſtrokes; and theſe are contraſted with others, whoſe amiable qualities relieve the horrors of the ſcene, and render the picture highly pleaſing.—In the third volume, Adeline enjoys a long interval of ſweet repoſe, till at length new ſcenes of ſurprize, diſtreſs, and joy, are opened, through which it is impoſſible for a reader, not totally devoid of ſenſibility, to accompany her without ſtrong emotions.

As a very conſiderable part of the merit of this work conſiſts in the happy manner in which the authoreſs has concealed the termination of the plot till the laſt *éclairciſſement*, we ſhall not deprive our readers of the pleaſure which they muſt derive from the firſt peruſal, by drawing an outline of the ſtory. We ſhall only ſay that we have ſeldom met with a fiction which has more forcibly fixed the attention, or more agreeably intereſted the feelings, throughout the whole narrative."

Monthly Review.

"We ſpoke with reſpect of the Sicilian Romance, but the authoreſs has greatly exceeded her firſt work. The Novel before us engages the attention ſtrongly, and intereſts the feelings very powerfully.—The ſcenes are managed with ſkill, and do not diſguſt by their improbability: every thing is conſiſtent, and within the verge of rational belief.—It may appear that we have commended this Novel with an eager warmth; we can only ſay, in apology for it, that we have copied our real ſentiments.—The Lady is wholly unknown to us, and probably will ever continue ſo.—We muſt, however, conſider the Romance of the Foreſt as one of the firſt works in this line of novel writing that we have ſeen."

Critical Review.

The Sicilian Romance, ſecond Edition, 2 vols. By the ſame Author, 6s.

"As Impartial Reviewers, we are bound to obſerve, "that in a few places, and but a few, the elegant wri- "ter of this very intereſting Romance puts us in mind "of Miſs Lee's Receſs; in other reſpects, her produc- "tion has a ſtrong and powerful claim upon our good "word. The fable is followed up, to its cloſe, with "the rich effuſions of a lively fancy: many of the ſitu- "ations are beautifully expreſſive, and cannot fail to af- "fect the hearts of thoſe who are poſſeſſed of feeling "and taſte."——*Impartial Review.*

The Caſtles of Athlin and Dunbayne, 2d edit. By the ſame Author, 3s ſewed.

" To thoſe who are delighted with the *marvellous*, whom wonders, and wonders only, can charm, the preſent production will afford a conſiderable degree of amuſement; and we honeſtly confeſs that this little work is to be commended for its moral; as alſo for the good ſentiments and reflections which occaſionally occur in it."—*Monthly Review.*

School for Widows. By Clara Reeve, Author of the Old Engliſh Baron, &c. 3 vols. 9s ſewed.

Plans of Education; with Remarks on the Syſtems of other Writers. By the ſame Author, 3s ſewed.

The Exiles; or, Memoirs of Count de Cronſtadt. By the ſame Author, 3 vols. 9s ſewed.

The Progreſs of Romance. By the ſame Author, 2 vols. 4s ſewed.

Memoirs of Sir Roger de Clarendon, the natural Son of Edward Prince of Wales, commonly called the Black Prince, and of many other eminent Perſons who lived in the Fourteenth Century. By the ſame Author. 3 vols. 9s ſewed.

The Beauties of Rouſſeau; ſelected by a Lady, 2 vols. 6s ſewed.

" The lady to whom we are obliged for this agreeable
" and moral ſelection, had no occaſion, in this inſtance,
" to plead her ſex, in order to obtain the indulgence of
" the public. Her merit entitles her to their approba-
" tion and encouragement. She has ſhewn much judg-
" ment in the ſelection, and faithfulneſs in the tranſla-
" tion of the various paſſages which compoſe theſe vo-
" lumes."——*Monthly Review.*

Dedicated (by permiſſion) to the Right Hon. Lady Dacre,

The Fair Impoſtor, a Novel. By the ſame Author. 3 vols. 9s ſewed.

Oſwald Caſtle; or, Memoirs of Lady Woodville, a Novel. By a Lady, 2 vols. 6s ſewed.

Edelfrida, a Novel. By a young Lady, 4 vols. 12s ſewed.

Laura; or, Letters from Switzerland. By the Author of Camilla. Tranſlated from the French, 4 vols. 10s ſewed.

The Chateau de Myrelle; or, Laura; a Novel, 12mo. 3s ſewed.

Dedicated (by permiſſion) to the Right Hon. Lady Camden,

Emma; or, the Unfortunate Attachment, a new edition, with beautiful Engravings, 2 vols. 6s ſewed.

The Whim, or Mutual Impreſſion; a Novel, 2 vols. 4s ſewed.

Emma Dorville. By a Lady, 2s 6d ſewed.

Louiſa; or, the Rewards of an Affectionate Daughter, 2 vols. 5s. ſewed.

Louiſa—by the Author of the Siſters, 3 vols. 9s

"The author of this pleaſing and intereſting ſtory has "fixed her eyes on Cecilia, and, from this charming "model, founded her hiſtory. The changes of fortune "are frequent; the characters well diverſified; and the "intereſt moſt feelingly ſupported. On the whole, we "have been highly entertained by this Novel, and think "it much beyond the uſual works of this claſs."

Critical Review.

Fragments of Original Letters of Madame Charlotte Elizabeth, of Bavaria, Ducheſs of Orleans. Written during the Years 1715 and 1720, to his Serene Highneſs Anthony Ulric, Duke of B—— W——, and to her Royal Highneſs Caroline Princeſs of Wales, 2 vols. 6s

Lucinda, or the Self-devoted Daughter. By Major Mante, 3s ſewed.

Dedicated (by permiſſion) to Lady Viſcounteſs Hereford,

The Count de Rethel, an hiſtorical Novel, taken from the French, 3 vols. 9s bound.

The Innocent Fugitive; or, Memoirs of a Lady of Quality. By the Author of the Platonic Guardian, 2 vols. 5s ſewed.

Terentia, a Novel. By the ſame Author, 2 vols. 6s ſewed.

Maid of Kent. By the Author of Travelling Anecdotes, 3 vols. 9s ſewed.

Faſhionable Infidelity; or, the Triumph of Patience. By the ſame Author, 3 vols. 9s ſewed.

Delineations of the Heart; or, the Hiſtory of Henry Bennett, 3 vols. 9s ſewed.

Memoirs of Captain and Miſs Rivers. By a Lady, 3 vols. 9s ſewed.

Dedicated (by permiſſion) to Mrs. Douglas, of St. Alban's, in Kent,

It Is, and It is Not, a Novel. By Charlotte Palmer, 2 vols. 6s ſewed.

Twin Siſters; or, Effects of Education; a Novel, in a Series of Letters. By a Lady, 4 vols. 12s ſewed.

Apparition; a Novel, 2 vols. 4s ſewed.

The Fatal Marriage, 2 vols. 5s ſewed.

The Double Diſappointment, or the Hiſtory of Charles Marlow, Eſq. and Miſs Haſtings, 2 vols. 6s bound.

The Hiſtory of Melinda Harley, 3s bound.

Hiſtory of the Hon. Mrs. Roſemont and Sir Henry Cardigan, 2 vols. 6s bound.

The Maſqued Weddings, 2 vols. 6s bound.

The Orphan, a Novel, 2 vols. 6s bound.

The Portrait, a Novel, 2 vols. 6s bound.

Damon and Delia, a Novel, 3s 6d bound.

Siege of Aubigny, an hiſtorical Novel. By Major Mante, 2s ſewed.

Hiſtory of Henrietta Mortimer, or the Force of Filial Affection, a Novel. By a Lady, 2 vols. 5s ſewed.

Laura. By the Author of the Two Siſters, 3 vols. 9s ſewed.

Night-cap, tranſlated from the French of Mercier, 2 vols. 6s ſewed.

The Hiſtory of Sir Charles Bentinck and Louiſa Cavendiſh, a Novel. By the Author of Laura and Auguſtus, 3 vols. 7s 6d ſewed.

History of Miss Meredith. By Mrs. Parsons, Author of the Errors of Education, &c. &c. 2 vols. 6s sewed.

" For elegance of stile, richness of invention, delineation of character, and purity of sentiment, we recommend this Novel to the attention of the parent and guardian; who need not entertain a fear in introducing Miss Meredith to the notice of those whose morals are the subject of their care and attention."

Impartial Review.

The Devil in Love, translated from the French of Cazotte, 2s 6d sewed.

Sorrows of Werter; translated from the German into Italian, and containing more than either the French or English edition of that much-admired Work, 2 vols. 6s

Gil Blas di Santillano. Storia piacevole del Sig. Le Sage, Tradotta dal Francese dal Dottore Pietro Crocchi Sanese, 4 tomi. 12s

A new Collection of Enigmas, Charades, Transpositions, &c. 2 vols. 18mo. 6s 6d sewed.

The Minstrell; or, Anecdotes of distinguished Persons of the Fifteenth Century, 3 vols. 12mo. 9s.

" With pleasure do we bear testimony to the elegance of language, the nice discrimination of character, and the moral and even pious sentiments conveyed in this very pleasing story, the incidents of which, chiefly of the pathetic kind, are managed with singular address and felicity.—The interest of the story is wonderfully well kept up, from the commencement to the close of the book, and the catastrophe alike consistent with moral and poetical justice, charmed us as equally natural, affecting, and unexpected.—If the imagination must be fed with these specious fictions, a question which, we fear, is already decided in the affirmative, we cannot but rejoice when the task of gratifying a numerous class of readers in their favourite study falls into such hands as those of the author, whether young or old, male or female, of the Minstrel."—*British Critic.*

Stories for the Instruction and Entertainment of Youth, in 12 vols. ornamented with Copper-plates, which are sold separate, at 1s each volume.

Letters on the Female Mind, its Powers and Pursuits. Addressed to Miss H. M. Williams, with particular Reference to her Letters from France, 2 vols. 6s sewed.

Obſervations on the Politics of France, and their Progreſs made in a Journey from Spa to Paris, during the Autumn of 1791. By T. Hill, 2s 6d

The Longitude diſcovered; or, a new Mathematical Inſtrument, called The Graphor, 1s

Selima; or, the Village Tale; a Novel, in a Series of Letters. By the Authoreſs of Fanny, 6 vols. 12mo. 18s ſewed.

"This ſeries of letters is written with a ſpirit and vivacity that ſeparates them from the common claſs of novels. The volumes have one excellence, which we wiſh was more general; they invariably recommend the practice of virtue, and inculcate both by precept and example, a firm reliance on Providence."

Britiſh Critic.

The Widow; or, a Picture of Modern Times, a Novel, in a Series of Letters. By Mrs. Mary Robinſon. 12mo. 2 vols. 6s ſewed.

"The principal merit of theſe volumes is their exhibiting a picture of modern times, in which the features of faſhionable folly and depravity are drawn with a ſkilful hand, and with ſuch ſtrokes of deformity, as are well adapted to excite contempt and indignation.—The incidents are well contrived and arranged, the characters are agreeably diverſified, and ſtrongly marked, and the ſentiments throughout are ſuch as ought to leave a due impreſſion on the mind in favour of virtue."——*Monthly Review.*

Fontainville Foreſt; a Play, in Five Acts, founded on "The Romance of the Foreſt," and performed at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden. By James Boaden, of the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, 1s 6d

"The writer has judiciouſly ſeized the incidents of the romance beſt adapted for dramatic repreſentation, and exhibited them with great animation. The mental perturbation ariſing from the ſtruggle of virtue is well expreſſed in the character of La Motte: cool and deliberate villany purſuing its unrelenting courſe, till diſcovery kindles remorſe, and plunges it in perdition, is naturally repreſented in the Marquis of Montault; and a happy union of gentleneſs and firmneſs of innocence and courage is diſplayed in the amiable Adeline;

" juſt and pleaſing ſentiments are diſperſed through the " piece, and the language is eaſy, highly poetical, and " where the occaſion requires, pathetic."

Analytical Review.

The Victim of Paſſion, or Memoirs of the Comte de Saint Julien, ſecond edition, 3 vols. 9s

The Viſit for a Week, or Hints on the Improvement of Time. By the Author of the Six Princeſſes of Babylon, &c. &c. 3s 6d

Beauty, an Ode; with a Dedication to her Grace the Ducheſs of R———, by Tallieſſen de Monmouth.

" From the glowing ſentiments expreſſed both in this " ode, and in the dedication to the Ducheſs of R———, " the animated apoſtrophe to Beauty, with which the " poem opens, as well as many ſubſequent parts, ſhow " that the writer is no ſtranger to the Muſes."

Analytical Review.

Britannia, a Poem, in three cantos, on the late brilliant naval ſucceſſes, 4to. 2s 6d ſewed.

Rule Britannia, a loyal ſketch, in two acts, as performed with univerſal applauſe at the Theatre Royal, Hay Market, written by James Roberts, 1s

Juſt imported, in 2 toms. 8vo. price 8s boards,

Politique de Tous les Cabinets de l'Europe pendant les Regnes de Louis XV. et de Louis XVI. Contenant de pièces Authentiques ſur la Correſpondence ſecrette du Compte du Broglio, un ouvrage dirigé par lui et executé, par M. Favier. Pluſieurs Memoires du Compte de Vergennes, Miniſtre des Affaires étrangérs de M. Turgot, etc. etc. Manuſcrits trouvés dans le Cabinet de Louis XVI.

*** Ladies or Gentlemen deſirous of taking in Magazines, Reviews, or periodical Publications in general—alſo all the foreign Newſpapers and Journals, may be ſerved with them regularly, as ſoon as publiſhed, by leaving notice at HOOKHAM and CARPENTER's, Bond Street.

All orders executed on the ſhorteſt notice, and ready-money given for any Library or parcel of Books.

Variety of Children's Books.

Newſpapers regularly ſerved in town or country.